

Performance Networks

Indian Cultural Production in Aotearoa/New Zealand

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Abstract

In the globalised environment of the twenty-first century, sustainable/successful event production requires a variety of interacting relationships that link producers to the range of resources necessary for their events. These resources may include local and/or international artists, audiences, sponsorship, media, and technical support. These event production networks may last no longer than a single event, or they may persist across multiple events and years. They usually involve a wide range of cultural actors and production relationships. The manner in which individual producers, organisations and cultures construct, use, rearrange and maintain production networks offers insight into how cultures market and represent themselves. This research identifies the processes through which local and global network formations shape Indian cultural performance events in Aotearoa and the consequent images of India that are received/consumed by the wider New Zealand audience. The central research question asks: What are the processes and relationships that support the production of cultural events, with specific reference to events that are of interest to and/or produced by Aotearoa's Indian communities?

This ethnographic study begins with an investigation of a wide range of local and international socio-economic and cultural relationships generated by a number of different kinds of shared interests and identities that determine not only the nature of the events but their relevance to various audiences. Subsequently, it goes on to identify how local and global network formations in Indian culture and the performing arts interact so as to allow the development of events from their conceptual stages into actual productions. Finally, this research develops a model for the graphic representation of stakeholder and resource production networks that analyses the underlying structures and complex socio-economic interactions that enable cultural performances.

Taken as a whole, this research demonstrates the centrality of relationship networks as the key to the relative success or failure of the events studied. From the perspective of event production needs, the flexibility and event-specific nature of those networks is made clear. At the same time, it is apparent that there are a range of culturally driven factors that affect event production practice as well as network formation, utilisation and maintenance. Identity and community, feasibility and power emerge as explanatory and analytical themes that help understand the relationships activated to create the networks that are central to the production of events.

This study focuses on the pragmatic business of cultural production, often within the context of the music industry. Methodologically, it draws from ethnomusicology, event management, social science and industry practice to achieve a multidisciplinary approach to this applied research project. The rich, thick descriptions provide insight into how Indian communities are represented locally and globally by producers internal and external to the culture being represented. Cultural events are a powerful factor in the visibility of cultural communities and social cohesion. It is the continuous formal and informal processes, systems, structures, and relationships that create sustainable production networks.

The findings contribute to a growing literature in the field of event management in which a need to apply phenomenology (hermeneutics) and experiential assessment methods through participant observation and experimental research techniques has been identified as well as the need for ethnographic research that focuses on the event experience. The findings in this research demonstrate that that success is much more than a simple measure of monetary profit, and that the ability to assert authority is imperative to the success of cultural representation across the performance industry.

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Table of Contents

Abstract	i
Acknowledgements	iii
Table of Contents	v
List of Tables	ix
List of Figures	x
Introduction	1
Setting the Scene	4
Limitations of this Study	6
Structure of the Thesis	7
Chapter One: Literature and Methodology	10
Introduction.....	10
Part One: Literature Review and Key Theoretical Concepts	10
<i>Community and Community Oriented Events</i>	12
<i>Private, Public and Not-for-Profit Festivals</i>	15
<i>Sense of Identity, Diaspora, and Globalised Cultures</i>	16
<i>Festivalisation and Cultural Policies</i>	24
<i>Events and Stakeholder Relationships</i>	30
<i>Indian Cultural Organisations in Auckland, Demographic Details and Migration History</i> ...	31
<i>Gaps in the Literature</i>	38
Part Two: Methodology	39
<i>Research Foundations: The Theoretical Assumption</i>	39
<i>Validity, Reliability and Generalisability</i>	41
<i>Data Collection</i>	44
<i>Conceptual Model</i>	45
<i>18-Month Event Snapshot</i>	53
<i>Event Performance Genres</i>	55
<i>Film Pre-liberalisation, Film Post-liberalisation and Global Identity</i>	57

<i>Event Producers</i>	59
<i>Audience Cultural Affiliation, Target Markets and Producer Identity</i>	60
Conclusion	65
Chapter Two: Community Organisations as Producers	66
Introduction.....	66
Cultural Organisation Event Content Overview	67
Case Studies	73
<i>Case Study 1: Classical Content in a Tamil Diasporic Dance Performance</i>	73
<i>Case Study 2: Cultural Schools and Societies</i>	81
<i>Case Study 3: Classical Music School Producers</i>	84
<i>Case Study 4: Cultural School Fusion Performance</i>	86
<i>Case Study 5: Cultural Schools and Cultural Society Production Collaboration</i>	88
Cultural Society Diversity in Three Holi Festivals	91
<i>Case Study 6: WIA Rang Barse Holi Mela</i>	91
<i>Case Study 7: Bhartiya Samaj and Humm FM: Holi Festival of Colours</i>	95
<i>Case Study 8: Holi Hungama</i>	98
<i>Cultural Representation at Three Holi Celebrations</i>	100
Conclusion	102
Chapter Three: Government Agencies as Producers of “India”	106
Introduction.....	106
The Growth of Indian Events and Auckland’s Creative Industries	107
Case Study 9: The Festival of India	118
<i>1995 Festival of India</i>	118
<i>1996 Festival of India</i>	120
1997 Festival of India.....	122
Case Study 10: 1997 Festival of Asia	123
Case Study 11: 1997 T.N. Krishnan and N. Rajam Concert Tour	128
Three Case Studies: Recent Council Productions	133
<i>Case Study 12: 2011-12 Music in Parks</i>	134
<i>Case Study 13: 2011 The Manganiyar Seduction</i>	136

<i>Case Study 14: Diwali: Festival of Lights</i>	139
Conclusion	152
Chapter Four: Commercial Event Producers	155
Introduction	155
Event Sustainability and Commercial Production Practices	156
Case Study 15: Three Local Bollywood Performers	167
<i>Mega Sangeet Mehfil</i>	167
<i>Old Is Gold III (February 2009)</i>	169
<i>A Tribute to Kishore Kumar</i>	171
Case Study 16: Three Overseas Bollywood Performance Stars	175
<i>Asha Bhosle</i>	175
<i>Rahat Fateh Ali Khan</i>	178
<i>Shankar-Ehsaan-Loy</i>	181
Conclusion	184
Chapter Five: Global India in New Zealand – Producing Desi Performance	188
Introduction	188
<i>Being Global in Auckland</i>	189
<i>Being Desi in Auckland</i>	189
<i>The Transcultural Nature of Popular Culture</i>	191
<i>Changing Event Production Practices</i>	192
Case Study 17: Unforgettable Music Festival	194
Case Study 18: DJs and Bollywood Rock	200
<i>DJ Club Scene</i>	201
<i>Bollywood Rock: Nasha</i>	205
New Performance Perspectives and Producer Reflections	208
Conclusion	212
Chapter Six: Discussion and Analysis	215
Introduction	215
Data Analysis	215
Key Overarching Themes	217

Community belonging	218
Government	218
Emerging Theme: Identity	219
<i>Cultural Identity</i>	220
<i>Producer Identity</i>	221
<i>Performance Identity</i>	223
<i>Concluding Remarks: Identity</i>	224
Emerging Theme: Community	225
<i>Community Belonging</i>	227
<i>Community Participation</i>	231
<i>Community Production Practices</i>	233
<i>Concluding Remarks on Community</i>	237
Emerging Theme: Feasibility	239
<i>Economic Realities: Producers, Venues and Audience</i>	240
<i>Event Requirements</i>	242
<i>Venues and Ticket Distribution</i>	246
<i>Concluding Remarks: Feasibility</i>	247
Emerging Theme: Power	248
<i>Different Producer Types and Access to Resources</i>	250
<i>Achieving Government Goals</i>	250
<i>Achieving Community Goals</i>	255
<i>Achieving Commercial Goals</i>	257
Quantitative Analysis of the Twenty-three Producer Network Maps	265
Conclusion	272
Conclusion	276
References	285

List of Tables

Table 1. Language and Indian Cultural Organisations in Auckland	36
Table 2. Festival History Timeline (Including Indian Culture) and Producer.....	111
Table 3. THE EDGE International Arts Season and Auckland Arts Festival Events	114
Table 4. THE EDGE International Arts Season Performances (THE EDGE, 2011).....	116
Table 5. Emerging Theme Analysis	218
Table 6. Holi Celebrations Produced by Cultural Associations	231
Table 7. Community Focus of Cultural Schools and Societies	236
Table 8. Relationship Basis and Target Resources in the 23 Event Project Maps.....	266
Table 9. Distinctions between the Producers of Concerts and Festivals	267

List of Figures

Figure 1. Indian Community Organisations in New Zealand Cities	33
Figure 2 Major Indian Language Groups of New Zealand Residents.....	34
Figure 3. Indian Population by Religious Affiliation.....	35
Figure 4. Nehru Hall in Pukekohe, built by the Pukekohe Indian Association in 1953 is no longer used for events as the community has outgrown the venue (Photograph by Alison Booth).....	37
Figure 5. The Conceptual Model Symbols Identify the Three Essential Event Elements that are activated in the Event Production Process.....	46
Figure 6. Resource Contributions Accessed by Producers: The essential elements required in and the event production process (Event Support, Event Content, Funding and Publicity)	48
Figure 7. Producer Relationship Types in which Producers access Production Resources.....	50
Figure 8. Conceptual Production Map Demonstrating Relationships to Resources.....	51
Figure 9. Frequency of Events by Month during the Snapshot.....	54
Figure 10. Performance Genres	57
Figure 11. Four Categories of Producer Identity.....	59
Figure 12. Cultural Affiliation Target Markets	61
Figure 13. Cultural Affiliations and Producer Identity	62
Figure 14. Performance Genre and Audience Cultural Affiliation of Target Markets.....	63
Figure 15. A Classical Dancer Performs Bharatanatyam at SAMAA (Photograph by Alison Booth).....	69
Figure 16. Music Schools in Classical Concert Collaboration – Producer Network Map	84
Figure 17. Music School Director Classical/Fusion Collaboration.....	87
Figure 18. Sur Sangam 2012, featuring Gopalnath and Majumdar.....	89
Figure 19. WIA Rang Barse Holi Mela 2012.....	93
Figure 20. Bhartiya Samaj and Humm FM: Holi Festival of Colours	96
Figure 21. 2012 Holi Hungama: An Alternative Holi Celebration	98
Figure 22. The 1995 ISKON Community Festival of India.....	119
Figure 23. 1996 Festival of India: Producer Collaboration.....	121
Figure 24. 1997 Festival of India with Festival of Asia Performers	122
Figure 25. Festival of Asia Puppeteers from Rajasthan Performing at a Lunchtime Concert at the University of Auckland’s School of Music (Photograph by Alison Booth).....	124

Figure 26. 1997 Festival of Asia Programme: Acknowledgement List of Sponsors and Supporters.....	125
Figure 27. 1997 Festival of Asia Produced by Asia 2000.....	127
Figure 28. India’s Top Violinists (Poster by Alison Booth)	130
Figure 29. T.N. Krishnan and N. Rajam Kalaranjani Tour: Community, Government and Academic Institution Collaborations.....	131
Figure 30. 2011 Music in Parks Inclusion of Indian Performance Content	135
Figure 31. The Manganiyar Seduction Performances in the Auckland Arts Festival.....	137
Figure 32. 2002 The Asia 2000 Diwali: Festival of Lights First Event	141
Figure 33. The 2010 Diwali: Festival of Lights Producer Collaboration between Auckland City Council and Asia: NZ.....	144
Figure 34. The 2011 Diwali: Festival of Lights Producer Collaboration between ATEED and Asia: NZ.....	146
Figure 35. The 2012 Diwali: Festival of Lights Producer Collaboration between ATEED and Asia: NZ.....	148
Figure 36. Performance Genres Presented as Commercial Events	158
Figure 37. Frequency of Commercial Event Venue Use.....	160
Figure 38. Auckland Venues that Seat Over 1,700 and Their Usage for Examples in this Section.....	161
Figure 39. Comparison of Number of Commercial Events by Genre, January-June 2011 and January-June 2012	164
Figure 40. Audience Sizes of Commercial Events Featuring Overseas Performers Comparing Percent of Tickets Sold in Venues.....	165
Figure 41. Performer/Producer Bollywood Performance: 2008 Mega Sangeet Mehfil..	168
Figure 42. Performer/Producer Bollywood Performance: 2009 Old Is Gold III.....	170
Figure 43. Performer/Producer Bollywood Performance: 2008 A Tribute to Kishore Kumar	172
Figure 44. 2011 Commercial Producer Networks: Asha Bhosle Concert.....	176
Figure 45. Commercial Producer Networks: 2012 Rahat Fateh Ali Khan Concert	179
Figure 46. Commercial Producer Networks: 2012 Shankar-Ehsaan-Loy Concert	182
Figure 47. Desi Producer Collaboration: 2011 Unforgettable Music Festival.....	195
Figure 48. Unforgettable Music Festival Press Release 2011	200
Figure 49. Inaugural Nasha Concert at Murray’s Bay Intermediate School (Photograph Alison Booth)	207

Figure 50. Over 150 Word Chips	216
Figure 51. The Coding Process	217
Figure 52. Audience as Percentage of Venue Capacity in the Events of Four Commercial Producers	259
Figure 53. The Interaction between Producer Types, Concerts and Festivals	268
Figure 54. Access to Resource Types by Relationship Type	269
Figure 55. Access to Resources as a Function of Relationship Type in Festivals	270
Figure 56. Access to as a Function of Relationship Type in Concert Events	271

Introduction

In the globalised environment of the twenty-first century, event production takes place through a variety of interacting relationships and producer identities that link local as well as international artists and audiences and that often lead to the creation of event production networks (as cited in Johnson, 2007, p. 8; Wood, 2009). Briefly, production networks are the formation of teams that include a producer creating relationships (commercial, political, cultural identity, social and/or family) that allow access to essential event resources (event support, event content, publicity and funding). Without these resources events are not feasible. Some networks may last no longer than a single event; others may persist across multiple events and years, involving a wide range of cultural actors and productions. The manner in which cultures construct, utilise, rearrange and maintain production networks offers insight into how cultures market and represent themselves and create a sense of belonging within wider communities (Picard & Robinson, 2006).

The aim of this research is to examine the ways producer identity affects production practice and, ultimately, cultural representation in a diasporic context. More specifically, the research interrogates the manner in which diasporic and non-diasporic producers construct and manipulate production networks in the pursuit of successful events. This research focuses on the production of Indian cultural performances in Auckland, Aotearoa/New Zealand. To achieve these aims, the following objectives have been identified:

1. To track Indian performance events in Auckland over a historical period
2. To identify the event goals among Indian and non-Indian producers
3. To map the production networks that producers develop in the pursuit of their goals
4. To analyse potential differences between networks developed by a range of producer identities
5. To analyse the structure and nature of those networks in qualitative and quantitative terms

To accomplish these aims and objectives, this research is framed around a central research question: What are the processes and relationships that support the production of cultural events, with specific reference to events that are of interest to and/or produced by Auckland's Indian communities?

This research is inherently interdisciplinary. It studies music and other performing arts events in industrial and non-industrial contexts. It examines cultural variations resulting from the efforts of producers, who are private individuals, entrepreneurs, community groups, or government bodies, all operating within a context defined by one of Auckland's major diasporic communities. Methodologically, this research draws from ethnomusicology, event management, social science and industry practice to achieve a multidisciplinary approach to this applied research project.

Getz (2010) identifies the need to apply phenomenology (hermeneutics) and experiential assessment methods through participant observation and experimental research techniques in the growing academic field of event studies. Taking this premise a step further, Holloway, Brown and Shipway (2010) identify a need for ethnographic research in the festival and event literature, and such an approach is now considered appropriate and valuable for researchers focussing on the event experience. It should be noted that this study focuses on the pragmatic business of cultural production, often within the context of the music industry. Nevertheless, the events studied in this research exist on the periphery of mainstream music industry concerns. Event goals are consistently framed within the diasporic context noted above. Therefore, the focus of this research is limited to diaspora studies and event management, and excludes literature that examines event production in the mainstream popular music production industry (Cloonan & Brennan, 2013; Frith, Cloonan, & Williamson, 2009; Homan, 2007; Homan & Mitchell, 2008; Morrow, 2008, 2013)

This research is based on extensive case studies that include thick ethnographic descriptions (Geertz, 1973), as well as event analyses that together provide new insight into cultural event practices. As an event producer who has worked within communities of 'others', my applied approach offers unique insights into production practices through participant observation as well as personal communications, government documents and media reports. This mix of methods has opened the door to detailed descriptions of events, greatly enhanced by my own perspective as an event producer – including numerous events for the Indian community over the period of 1995–2012. This period of time in Auckland's immigration history is significant due to the growth and diasporic makeup of the Indian community, as reflected in the emergence of a very public and vibrant community of many 'Indian' voices through the promotion of public concerts, festivals and cultural celebrations.

The wide scope of cultural performances and interpretations of 'Indian' cultural

representation are central concepts in this research, which pursues Anthony Seeger's (1987, p. xvi) argument that music and the performing arts provide a context for the formulation and negotiation of cultural meaning and identity. Event production networks and expressive cultural performance practices are central to diasporic identity and cultural representation. Bruno Nettl (2005) suggests that the examination of music events in a cultural context creates an in-depth view of cultural practices.

Previous ethnographic studies of the multiple Diwali festivals in New Zealand (Johnson, 2007, 2010; Johnson & Figgins, 2005) focus on these as community events – which have a distinctive cultural significance for those of South Asian identity, old and new to New Zealand – as a cultural setting juxtaposing culture and ethnicity. The research in this thesis builds on these findings and takes into consideration stakeholder relationships, cultural identity and the role the producer plays in presenting cultural performances. This comprehensive, processual approach contributes to the growing discipline of event management studies and reflects the need for greater interdisciplinary to advance the field of festival studies.

This ethnographic study begins with an investigation of a wide range of local and international socio-economic and cultural relationships generated by a number of different kinds of shared interests and identities that determine not only the nature of the events but their relevance to various audiences. Subsequently, the study identifies how local and global network formations in Indian culture and the performing arts interact so as to allow the development of events from their conceptual stages into actual productions. Finally, this research develops a model for the graphic representation of stakeholder and resource production networks that analyses the underlying structures and complex socio-economic interactions that enable cultural performances. The research thus examines the entire event-production process from inception through to conclusion and replication.

The findings present empirical data that provide insight into the event production relationships between one of New Zealand's largest ethnic communities and the nation's government agencies, creative industries, and arts bodies. This research also demonstrates the value of a new tool for the analysis as described in Chapter 1 under Methodology. The tool illustrates event production practices by analysing the role relationships play in event producers accessing essential event resources. Event production practices are compared and contrasted from various producers' perspectives involving government agencies, community initiatives and commercial ventures. Finally, the findings presented here will

provide event producers and others in the event management industry with examples of best practice in performing arts management.

Setting the Scene

This section sets the stage by explaining the purpose of my research inquiry and providing a glimpse into my own personal journey. I reflect on why I am interested in the diverse voices of Auckland's Indian communities, presented in the many cultural events described in this thesis. This information is included to place myself in context in this study and represents the beginnings of my journey from producer to academic. Portions of this story will be further developed in the thesis case studies. These contain a history of events that are placed into a historical as well as current event context. The process of writing this initial story has opened the door for collecting, discussing and analysing further stories that form the heart of this research.

In 1993, I moved to Auckland from the U.S.A. with my family who together shared world music performance and production experience with personal interest in the classical music tradition of India. I was surprised by the lack of cultural diversity in the performing arts sector in Auckland. Classical Indian music production and performance, world music performance, let alone the music of India, was barely visible. Coming from the USA where a larger Indian music scene was flourishing in classical and experimental settings, making Indian culture quite visible to those outside of the Indian cultural communities (Neuman, 1990).

Over the years this has changed as the Indian communities have grown and become more culturally distinct and varied. An important event project occurred in 1994 in which I was involved as an event organiser, performer and workshop participant. The late sarod maestro Ashok Roy, a disciple of Ali Akbar Khan, was invited by the University of Auckland to teach workshops and perform concerts of Indian classical music. The workshops were open to students at the university as well as to the local community. Although the fundamental production relationship was external to the Indian community, the connection to ethnomusicology in this case included my family's long-standing involvement with Hindustani classical music and culture, which led to a partnership between the university and my personal friendships with the local Indian community. The collaborative event projects that followed opened up opportunities to bond with members

of the local community, including Rattan Thakurdas and Sudhakar Mayadeyo to whose memories this thesis is dedicated.

These two friends were Indian classical music aficionados. They had attended the only previously independently produced classical Indian concerts in Auckland, which were those of Pandit Ravi Shankar and Ustad Alla Rakha, who had performed in the Auckland Town Hall in 1973 and 1981 respectively. I could not identify the producer of the 1973 concert, but I was able to track down media reports that identified the late Australian Clifford Hocking as the producer of the 1981 concert as part of an Australia/New Zealand tour. One my friends who attended the 1973 Ravi Shankar concert was a recently arrived Pakistani immigrant who had learned sitar from his father in Lahore. He recalled the sell-out crowd at the Auckland Town Hall, then Auckland's premier classical venue, and being in an ethnic minority as a member of the audience. Although my friend and his wife were both employed in relatively prestigious white-collar professions, tickets were very expensive for recently arrived migrant families, and they sat in the cheapest seats available. Nevertheless, this concert experience made my sitar player friend feel at home in his new country and remained a pleasurable memory over 35 years later.

Independent producers like Hocking, producing the 1981 Ravi Shankar would find it very difficult, in 2012, to create an equivalent commercial concert. Hocking would be competing with highly organised producers from within the Indian community presenting Bollywood superstars and would also have to contend with government control of arts festivals, venues and arts funding. New Zealand, a geographically isolated country with a population of 4.5 million people, creates special challenges for all music producers, who are rarely connected to major global marketing campaigns.

Of course, the story of classical Indian music in Auckland is ongoing. A manifestation of this widely consumed concert culture occurred in 2008, when Ravi Shankar's daughter, Anoushka, performed in Auckland with her ensemble the Anoushka Shankar Project. In 2008, Anoushka was presented as an international performer as part of an arts festival dominated by European classical culture. The focussed marketing campaign targeted a predominantly ethnically European middle-class audience. My friends who had attended the earlier Ravi concerts and who had been involved in the 1994 Ashok Roy concert and workshops were once again the minority culture represented in the audience at the Auckland Town Hall.

Robbie Macrae, the Council-employed event producer, speaking about how the event is placed in Auckland's performing arts scene, made a remarkable comparison:

The Anoushka Shankar Project target audience is the same as John Williams and we are producing this concert in search of audience development. We are looking for a mid-range cultured audience with taste. This is a target audience that is willing to try something different. Five years ago, THE EDGE had a shift of focus – our work in the past with community groups did not work. We are competing with Wellington and our goal is to make Auckland New Zealand’s international performing arts centre (Macrae, 2008).

Macrae’s comments seek to achieve a seamless ‘international’ genre in which Anoushka, an experimental Indian sitarist, and John Williams, a classical western guitarist, are effectively the same. With this in mind, I embarked on this research in order to gain further insight into event production practices, advocacy and cultural representation. This enquiry draws on my personal experience in the production practices in a wide scope of events that have represented the Indian community. By exploring how events are produced, the compelling question of the event purpose remains central to defining an event and placing the event concept in a larger production network context (A. Booth, 2010).

Limitations of this Study

The scope of my research question was initially quite broad, but during the course of this study, the event environment has grown significantly, as has the size of Auckland’s (and New Zealand’s) Indian population. In many ways, the topic of this research has therefore been a ‘moving target’. The scope of the study is limited by my inability to attend every event produced and to interview every producer, especially when it comes to smaller, and at best, semi-public events. I therefore do not consider private events, events that were produced primarily for the specific religious congregations, or every event produced by every cultural association. Furthermore, my study is limited to events in Auckland. Other Indian communities in New Zealand, such as those located in Hamilton and Wellington; also have thriving Indian cultural event scenes. While many of the broader findings in this research are applicable to events in these communities, many of the details will naturally be specific to those communities.

During the course of this study I was approached for advice by Indian event producers unaware of my research. Often they were seeking sponsorship and funding to underwrite events that were not otherwise feasible. In these occurrences, I discovered early on in my research that I needed to step back, observe and not influence local production practices and relationships. I did not want to compromise my data or obtain information that could be gained in an unethical manner. Those approaching me were mainly new

migrants trying to break into the industry and seeking advice. Many of the established producers were aware of my research as I did not keep secrets. When approaching new informants many expected me to approach the study from a performer and not a producer perspective. At some points it was very difficult watching promoters lose large amounts of money on events. I found during the course of this study, it was personally easier and more beneficial for my research to focus to assume a purely academic role in the community.

For Auckland's Indian communities, producing events and participating in them is about cultural participation. In some situations I was accepted as part of the community and in other instances I remained a cultural 'outsider'. The diversity of Indian identity is apparent through religious, language and regional differences. Those differences are themselves contingent. They are understood differently by Indians themselves depending on the circumstances. Many of these differences are imperceptible to those less familiar with India's cultural diversity. That diversity has also made some cultural groups easier to approach than others. For those with whom I already had established working relationships, the cultural barriers were not such an issue. I found the more traditional Indian men often hard to approach; many had difficulty in taking my interests in Indian production practices seriously.

There were some circumstances in which my gender acted as a barrier to the accessing of information. This has been an especially important factor because the production of Indian events globally is dominated by male producers. Women are rarely concert producers and if they are involved in this side of the production practice, they are normally assisting their husbands or producing dance performances for their students. Women do play other vital roles in the delivery of live events as cultural teachers, publicists, and in stage design and support networks, including hospitality. Many women offer a wide range of experience in and knowledge of event delivery through their own participation and I am grateful for their friendship and sharing of knowledge. My husband was able to assist with Hindi language skills when required and in situations requiring social relationships in this male-dominated field. I am eternally grateful to the producers and the others involved in the many event production roles who were open to me; their participation in this study makes up the bulk of the stories in the case studies.

Structure of the Thesis

This thesis starts with a broad overview of the literature, drawing on ethnomusicology, social science and event management research, providing an overview of the pertinent key

concepts in which this research is grounded. Cultural identity, diaspora, community, cultural transmission, hybridity, festivalisation, cultural policy and stakeholder theory are central concepts in the theoretical approach to this thesis.

This section discusses the literature from social science, festival tourism and event management perspectives to identify and explore key theoretical concepts included in this thesis. The following literature review is divided into six sections: 1) Community and Community Oriented Events, 2) Private, Public and Not-for-Profit Festivals, 3) Sense of Identity, Diaspora, and Globalised Cultures, 4) Festivalisation and Cultural Policies, 5) Events and Stakeholder Relationships, 6) Cultural Organisations' Demographic Details and Migration History. Migration is addressed through an overview of the formation of Auckland's Indian cultural organisations, contextualising the research in migration history. This background is important as it traces the unique story of Auckland's Indian communities and their role in cultural performance practices.

The Methodology section discusses the enquiry approach to this research and the theoretical assumptions. This section also includes a detailed discussion of a new method that I have developed in the course of this study and I have applied throughout the case studies. There is also an explanation of an 18-month media snapshot that I developed that validates the findings through quantitative data. Data analysis of data is discussed as well as the use of Auckland as a location for this research. This informs the theoretical approach to Chapters 2–5, which offer case studies that form the core of the research.

In order to contrast and compare production practices, the case studies are divided by four different producer types: cultural organisations, government agencies, commercial producers and emerging producers. The events took place between 1995 and 2012 and are chosen to provide a variety of concerts and festivals featuring Indian cultural content and promoted to Auckland's Indian communities by a range of producer identities.

Chapter 2 discusses and analyses the role cultural organisations play as producers and focuses on the process of social transmission and events produced by cultural associations. Chapter 3 discusses and analyses the role government agencies play as producers and focuses on power structures and issues around representing the cultures of 'others'. Chapter 4 discusses and analyses issues of sustainability in relation to events and commercially produced by entrepreneurs. Chapter 5 discusses and analyse the emerging voices: producers with global orientations who create events that feature alternative performance genres.

Chapter 6 is a discussion and analysis that serves to identify the overarching themes that have emerged from the case studies. This is followed by the final chapter which focuses on the important role that relationship networks have played through the course of this study on cultural production in Aotearoa/New Zealand. The way in which Indian culture is represented is dependent on several factors, including the producer's cultural affiliations, social and political networks, and reputation. The findings in this research demonstrate that that success is much more than a simple measure of monetary profit and that the ability to assert authority is imperative to the success of cultural representation across the performance industry (Gerstin, 1998).

Chapter One: Literature and Methodology

Introduction

The first section of this chapter provides an overview of the pertinent literature in which this research is grounded. The literature review is divided by areas of academic discourse: identity and place, globalisation and cultural tourism, cultural policy and access to power, social sustainability and cultural transmission, stakeholder relationships, and events and festivals. A historical overview of the formation of Auckland's Indian cultural organisations is also provided, contextualising the research in a historical migration context.

The second section of this chapter discusses methodology and the theoretical framework of this research. The rationale for using case studies and the analysis of the data that are at the core of this ethnographic research is explained. Ethnography is the study of cultures through close observation, reading, and interpretation placing the researchers work 'in the field' (Clifford, 1988; Geertz, 1973). Because ethnography is the study of cultures it is important to define the word 'culture'. This research views culture from an anthropological perspective, with culture defined as a patterning of behaviour and a worldview within a social group that is passed onto the next generation. This relativist approach follows the work of classic anthropological work of Boas(1920) who argued that as humans we are not innately born with culture but learn from the world around us. This is followed by an introduction of a conceptual model that explains the application of a new methodological tool that has been developed over the course of this research and applied to the case studies. This is followed by an explanation of an 18 month tracking of events promoted in the local Indian media in order to collect event background information and quantitative data to analyse.

Part One: Literature Review and Key Theoretical Concepts

This section discusses the literature from social science, festival tourism and event management perspectives to identify and explores key theoretical concepts included in this thesis. The following literature review is divided into six sections: Community and Community Oriented Events; Private, Public and Not-for-Profit Festival Management, Sense of Identity, Diaspora and Globalised Cultures; Festivalisation and Cultural Policies; Events and Stakeholder Relationships; and Cultural Organisations' Demographic Details and Migration History. These broad headings have been chosen as a means to gain a

deeper understanding of the multiple ways production networks are configured and serve to create cultural production opportunities within a diasporic context. The events explored in this research are identified as being produced by or for the Indian community, requiring an understanding of community and community events, Indian identity and the diaspora, public policy event production practices and cultural representation, the role of diaspora, stakeholder theory and how the Indian community fits within the New Zealand hegemonic culture.

Events types included in this study are divided into two categories: concerts and festivals. Concerts can be indoors or outdoors, but are limited to single performances, with the promotion of the event focusing on the specific artists performing. Festivals are generally outdoor events. When festivals are city-wide some components can be housed in indoor venues (film festivals, performing arts festivals). A festival is of longer duration than a concert and can be an all-day, all-night or multi-day event. Generally festivals have more than one stage and feature a range of performances types and other activities. Festivals and events have had an increased role in the global marketplace creating new settings for identity construction and place-making.

The evolution of festivalisation on event production will be addressed to place emphasising the impact of the growth and development of the industry on how communities are culturally represented. The importance of cultural policy and the role of government in festival and event management will be explored to understand how the economic and political dimensions of cultural policies affect those who do and do not benefit from government support.

Each of the broad headings in this chapter is concerned with producers aiming to deliver successful events. In practice the success of an event can be measured in a variety of ways depending on the goals and objectives of the various stakeholders. Success is much more than a simple measure of monetary profit and that the ability to assert authority is imperative to the success of cultural representation across the performance industry (Gerstin, 1998, p. 386). The success of an event can be measured in a variety of ways. The most obvious are financial outcomes such as ticket sales, in the case of non-ticketed events, the ability to accumulate funding and sponsorship to cover expenses. Success, in this context, can be examined from a variety of stakeholders' perspectives that are intertwined in a variety of shared goals and expectations.

A description of stakeholder relationships, as identified in event management theory, demonstrates the management structures of festivals and events and the role

specific relationships contribute to success, viability and sustainability. Finally, the role the Indian communities play in various types of production practices in which Indian voices are public heard through festivals, events and collaborative relationships will be discussed.

Community and Community Oriented Events

The term community comes from the Latin word ‘communis’, which means common, public, or shared by many (Schulenkorf & Edwards, 2013, p. 80). Communities are a fusion of a collective body that embraces a combination of ‘similar’ interests and specific characteristics such as: Region, religion, language, political ideology, occupation, and/or leisure activities – including artistic endeavours and sports. Communities are cooperative in nature, and the act of communities creating events serves to create an intense community spirit characterised by feelings of great social equality, solidarity and togetherness - or a feeling of *communitas* (Dickson, 2010, p. 232). *Communitas* refers to intense feelings of belonging and sharing among equals, as in pilgrimage or festival experiences.

As explained by Victor Turner (1987), *communitas* is the implicit law of wholeness arising out of relations between totalities. Performances, particularly dramatic performances, are the manifestations of the human social process. This wisdom is acquired by participation “immediately or vicariously through the performance genres in socio-cultural dramas” (Turner, 1987, pp. 16-17). In this way the performing arts, are made up of cumulative wisdom that is expressed not only in custom and tradition but also in the collective experience.

Event and tourism literature research supports the existence and importance of *communitas* at planned events (Getz, 2012, p. 8). Community based cultural events are integral to rituals, kinship, and social interaction as they bring people together in many ways to express ideas traditions and values including: ceremonies and celebrations, rituals and rites of passage, and performing arts.

Celebrations are festive, usually commemorative, public occasions, frequently incorporating the arts to praise honour or mark a special event in the life of a person or group. Community-based traditional cultural celebrations have evolved into contemporary cultural festivals and events targeting audiences from within the community being represented and also from outside of that specific community (Derrett, 2003; MacLeod, 2006; Smith & Forest, 2006).

Because so many meanings can be attached the event experience on personal, social or cultural levels, events in the broadest sense are viewed as social constructs that vary from area to area, and over time. As pointed out by Getz (2010), while primitive celebrations might have sprung up organically in concert with agricultural and climatic cycles, modern festivals are mostly created and managed with multiple goals, stakeholders and meanings attached to them.

Communities produce a host of festivals and events that are targeted mainly at local audiences and staged primarily for their social fun and entertainment value. Such events can be found in any community anywhere around the globe. This form of community engagement results in the host community engaged in the process of working collaboratively with community groups for the well-being of the community as a whole. Geographical research on festivals has viewed them as contested spaces where symbolic practices (such as parades) have been used to consolidate or resist prevailing norms and values (Getz, 2007, p. 52).

Festivals are cultural celebrations and have always occupied a special place in societies. Their celebratory roles, and the many cultural and social implications of ritual and festivity, have long attracted the interest of sociologists and anthropologist. Festivals always have a theme, and they have potentially very diverse programs and styles, all in pursuit of fostering a specific kind of experience. Celebration embodies at once an intellectual, behavioural and emotional experience, with the emotional responses potentially leading to unexpected and undesired outcomes in both behavioural and political/attitudinal terms.

Festivities are festivals or celebrations that serve as joyous diversions. The word festival derives from feast, and implies a time of celebration (Yeoman, Robertson, Ali-Knight, Drummond, & McMahon-Beattie, 2005). Festivities are an important expression of human activity that contributes to social and cultural life. Festivals are increasingly linked with tourism to generate business activity and income to the host community. Festivals have become an influential feature of global cultural landscapes and a vital and growing part of the event industry (Johnny Allen, O'Toole, Harris, & McDonnell, 2008, p. 15). A festival in one country, however, might very well be perceived quite differently from festivals in other countries.

The term festival has been corrupted and commodified, along with the variations 'fest', 'festivity', and 'festive' to the point that festivals no longer hold an exclusive meaning as a cultural celebration or a sacred ritual (Getz, 2007, p. 53). The term is applied

to entertainment productions like rock concerts as well as food and wine shows and similar trade shows although it needs to be pointed out that such events do include festival-like elements to the experience as generators of *communitas* (Getz, 2012). Festivals are attractive to communities looking to address issues of civic design, local pride and identity, heritage conservation, urban renewal, employment generation, investment and economic development. (Derrett, 2004). It can be argued that in the commodification process, festivals may no longer be an authentic reflection of community or culture, but of government policy (Brown & Chappell, 2008; Carnegie & Smith, 2006; Clarke & Jepson, 2010; Derrett, 2003; Smith & Forest, 2006; Zeppel, 2013).

The observance and participation in festivals, and what is broadly referred to as ‘celebratory’ events, is an increasingly significant aspect of the contemporary tourist experience (Aitchison & Pritchard, 2007; Johansson & Kociatkiewicz, 2011; Pernecky & Lück, 2013; Picard & Robinson, 2006; Wood, 2009). Festivals and tourism have complex inter-relationships. The notion of combining festivals and tourism is not a new concept, and it has been long recognised that festivals and tourism may have a long history of mutual benefits (Long, Robinson, & Picard, 2004; Smith & Forest, 2006).

As noted by Pernecky and Luck (2013), events have had a presence under the wing of tourism as ‘event tourism’ since the 1980s. These authors refer to the seminal work of Donald Getz, who has pioneered the field of event tourism for over thirty years (Getz, 1997, 2007, 2008). Many events are de-contextualised spatially or culturally from their origins and reconstituted in new urban and regional settings, impacting how cultural identity is represented (Brown & Chappell, 2008; Carnegie & Smith, 2006; Smith & Forest, 2006; Zeppel, 2013).

Tourism has often been seen as transforming (other people’s) festivals in a negative way, leading to the commodification and consequent social meaninglessness of cultural performance and production (MacLeod, 2006). The increase in cultural tourism and the emphasis on city development and destination promotion has led to festivals becoming a primary tool for tourism development and destination promotion (Derrett, 2004; Hall & Rusher, 2004; Jago, Chalip, Brown, Mules, & Ali, 2003; Milne & Buch, 2007).

Picard and Robinson (2006, pp. 17-19) argue that festivals, particularly large and spectacular events, become the key motivator for tourism, and that events are a large part of the “tourist time space budget”. Tourists encounter festivals in a number of ways. The tourists seek to make sense of the experiences they have, often with incomplete knowledge of what they are encountering. In almost any place in the world, tourists and tourist

operators participate temporarily in the economic, demographic, and symbolic dynamics of the so-called 'host society'. The cultural interactions that such participation may engender may also create a space that facilitates a type of transnational connectivity, exerting a force of influence and causing change.

Private, Public and Not-for-Profit Festivals

Andersson and Getz (2009, p. 847) describe tourism as a 'mixed industry' in which private firms, public agencies and not-for-profit associations both compete and collaborate in creating tourist products such as festivals. A mixed economy is described as embodying elements of both central planning and/or government enterprise with some degree of private enterprise and a free market. In practice, this seems to define most of the world's political economies to a greater or lesser extent. Tourism policy and development in particular is now commonly undertaken through collaboration and partnerships between governments and the private sector. However, tourism, as a mixed industry, also includes the voluntary or not-for-profit sector, and this is especially true in the attractions and events sectors.

Some private firms produce festivals, such as Glastonbury in the United Kingdom or Rhythm and Vines in New Zealand. Both are large outdoor festivals in rural areas run privately with profit as the goal that secures long term survival. Private festivals are typically a minority, but there has been a noticeable trend toward more privately owned events as well as private event production companies. Within an event-tourism context, local governments and destination marketing organisations have to look at their entire portfolio of festivals and make decisions about developing and promoting this mixed sector.

Public sector (government) involvement in producing festivals is more common than that of private firms. Governments have the power to assume the ability to regulate, plan and coordinate large events to attract large tourism dollars as well as build community relationships (Hall & Rusher, 2004). Governments can justify their involvement in producing large festivals and mega events, such as the Rugby World Cup or the Olympics, by calculating a return on investment. Event tourism generates substantial taxes and demonstrates that public venues and infrastructure will be used efficiently as more events are held (Andersson & Getz, 2007, 2009).

Not-for-profit organisations, sometimes called charitable trusts, are based on common goals and interests. Annual events like Oxfam N.Z.'s Trailwalker or the Readers

and Writers Festival in Auckland are produced by charitable trusts who seek sponsorship and other forms of partnerships to produce their events. These types of festivals require support from local government authorities and the host community to remain sustainable (Long et al., 2004; MacLeod, 2006). Andersson & Getz (2009, p. 852) note that differences based on ownership are not always clear cut, as the political movement around ‘reinventing government,’ in which politicians set the policy and then enable a variety of organisations to deliver the services, has created a market where not-for-profit organisations, private businesses and public organisations compete.

Sense of Identity, Diaspora, and Globalised Cultures

Community gatherings foster a sense of belonging, as cultural performances provide a sense of shared memory and identity. Community-based festivals and events provide occasions to engage residents and visitors for a limited duration in themed celebrations of a community’s identity (Derrett, 2000). Diasporic communities create events that affirm specific cultural practices, preserving the culture of their original homelands in the cultural site of their new homes (De Souza, 2011; Turino & Lea, 2004; Vertovec, 1997). Cultural and religious practices play an important role for migrant communities (De Souza, 2011; Ramnarine, 1996; Vertovec, 1997). Cultural performances create settings for identity construction and place-making (Bendrup, 2010; Derrett, 2003; Johnson, 2010). As Solomon points out, “That musical performance is a practice for constructing identity is now an ethnomusicological commonplace. That it can also be a practice for constructing place may not seem so obvious at first” (2000, pp. 257-258).

The global music business is discussed in popular music industry discourse. Cloonan and Brennan (2013), look at the British Musicians’ Union and its legal implications on foreign musicians; Morrow (2013) considers the implications of regulations on artist managers from a business perspective; and G. Booth (2011), who considers the legal implications of copyright and contracts from an Indian perspective. The music business and success from the artist’s perspective has been recently written about (Hughes, Keith, Morrow, M, & Crowdy, 2013; Morrow, 2008), as has the role popular music plays as a global production practice (Homan, 2007; Homan & Mitchell, 2008).

Music defines a space without boundaries. It is the cultural form able both to cross borders – as sounds carry across fences, walls and oceans and across classes, races and nations – and define places – in clubs, scenes, and raves, through headphones, on the radio

and in the concert hall – reinforcing that we are only where the music takes us (Frith, 1996, p. 125). Music creates a space in which to feel at home.

Identity and place are constructed for and across different spheres of participation and involvement for performers and audiences, and for Indians and non-Indians. Turino and Lea (2004) discuss how diasporic cultural formations are characterised by hybridity, with practices and ideas drawn from experiences in the home and a variety of host communities. As Clifford (1994) suggests, in many instances diasporic communities may represent an alternative nation in that they are identity units that transcend borders.

‘Diaspora’ is the term often used today to describe practically any population
Diaspora is the term often used today to describe practically any population which is considered ‘deterritorialised’ or ‘transnational’ -- that is, a population which has originated in a land other than that in which it currently resides, and whose social, economic and political networks cross the borders of nation-states or, indeed, span the globe (Vertovec, 2000, p. 141).

Bruneau (2010, p. 34) states that the term diaspora, long used only to describe the dispersion of the Jewish people throughout the world, has entered everyday language. The term is now applied to all forms of dispersion of a people, even where no migration is involved. This corresponds not only to the development and generalisation of international migrations throughout the world, but also to a weakening, or at least a limitation, of the role played by nation-states at a time when globalisation has become a dominant process.

Offner & Pumain (as cited in Bruneau, 2010, p. 35) note that all diasporas are socio-spatial networks necessarily undergoing territorial expansion because they aggregate both places of memory and places of presence. As explained by Tölölyan (2008), until the 1930s, the social formations known as ‘diasporas’ consisted of a network of communities, at some times sedentary and at others quite mobile, that lived in often involuntary dispersion from their homelands and that resisted full assimilation or were denied the option of assimilating, or both at the same time.

‘Community diasporas’ are created through the forging of links with those who wish to bond together while maintaining relationships with like-minded groups settled in different localities. “Such bonds may take different forms, forged through family, religion, politics, and/or shared experience, ‘creating symbolic’ and ‘iconographic’ capital that enables them to reproduce and overcome the often considerable obstacle of distance separating their communities” (Bruneau, 2010, p. 35).

Vertovec notes that within the social science disciplines, recent writing conveys at least three meanings of the concept 'diaspora'. Vertovec refers the meanings as 'diaspora' as a social form, 'diaspora' as a type of consciousness, and 'diaspora' as a mode of cultural production (Vertovec, 1997). He suggests to methodologically grasp in a comparative manner the multitude of complexities in following changes in diasporic communities all three meanings need to be taken into consideration (Vertovec, 2000, p. 159).

The Indian diasporic community holds its own unique place history and maintains a complex mixture of community identities as noted in a study of Indian migrants in New York City.

Indians have not only immigrated exclusively to the USA, but also for many decades, they have settled in other countries around the world notably Guyana, Trinidad, Uganda, Dubai and England whenever the opportunity presented itself. Although all these diaspora communities originated in India, it is important to note that they vary culturally (Bhattacharya, 2008, p. 68).

The transnational nature of the Indian diaspora and its migration history in New Zealand has created many community groups that identify with transnational, transcultural as well as local and culturally specific preferences. This creates a variety of market segmentations that support and engage in a range of event types and representations of India (Leckie, 2007, 2010; Lewin et al., 2011). Community organisations play an important role in transmitting culture through events and performance practice as notions of identity are passed on through the diverse cultural community event practices (David, 2008; Derrett, 2000; Johnson, 2010; Miller, 2008). Cultural events play an important role in cultural transmission by sustaining cultural identity and community affiliations in an increasingly globalised world.

The cultural organisation practices of Auckland's Indian community bear similarities with those found in many large cities with a large population of Indian migrants, some of which have been discussed in detail in previous studies (Carnegie & Smith, 2006; David, 2012; Gopal & Moorti, 2008; Mackerras, 2005; O'Shea, 2008; A. G. Roy, 2010). Concerts, theatre, dance, festivals and cultural schools promote exclusive images of cultural identity through music through language and cultural heritage. The public nature of events can also create opportunities to showcase cultural diversity, build networks and expose the wider public to alternative voices.

Some events represent the community under an 'all-India' banner while other events project specific expressions of cultural identity. The globalisation of diasporic

cultures creates multiple formations of cultural identity as well as multiple geographical and conceptual cultural borders (Hopper, 2007; Raghuram, Sahoo, Maharaj, & Sangha, 2008; Tomlinson, 1999). The producers and the events they present – whether they are cultural associations, government agencies or entrepreneurs – present a wide range of events that all fall under a banner of ‘Indianness’, reflecting the transcultural nature of the Indian diaspora.

Despite the international reach of the Indian diaspora, “a basic building block remains the nation, in some form or another. In fact, nation is the script not only of the cultures created, but also of the presence of South Asians in non-South Asian countries” (Shukla, 2001, p. 559). There are said to be fixed and non-fixed notions of what it means to be Indian, with events playing a role in solidifying a sense of belonging (Raghuram et al., 2008). In the contemporary transnational dynamics of the Indian diaspora, caste sectarian and linguistic/regional traditions, and communities remain more or less intact as reflected in the communities in the United Kingdom and East Africa (Vertovec, 2000, p. 162).

As Kraidy uses the term, hybridity refers mostly to culture, but he argues that hybridity retains residual meanings that interconnect race, language and ethnicity (2005, p. 1). This transcultural and global process gives rise to the development of *mélange* cultures that span multiple locations and identities (Pieterse, 1994).

Bhabha goes further to argue that cultural identity always emerges in this contradictory and ambivalent space, making the hierarchical ‘purity’ of cultures untenable (1994, p. 37). With this in mind, what it means to be ‘Indian’ is not one single identity: it is wrapped up in a globalised diasporic context, and at the same time is wrapped up in the ‘building block’ of the larger concept of belonging to India (Shukla, 2001). Bhabha points out that the ambivalent space of cultural identity helps to overcome the exoticism of cultural diversity in favour of the recognition of an empowering hybridity within which cultural difference may operate. He contends that this ambivalence is constructed in a space that he calls the ‘Third Space of Enunciation’ (Bhabha, 1994).

AlSayyad places the notion of hybridity as sitting in a ‘third place’, positioned in the emergence of ‘borderlands’ and the sites of ‘in-between’ that have become typical spaces of global encounters. These new hybrid spaces and places that occur in the new localities of postmodern global culture are based on the idea that culture is no longer easily defined or compartmentalised and has become a moving target (AlSayyad, 2001, p. 16). Bhabha (1994, p. 277) helps clarify the complex nature of hybridity by suggesting that hybridity is a situation in which “the synchronicity in the social order of symbols is

challenged within its own terms, but the grounds of engagement have been displaced in a supplementary movement that exceeds those terms”.

This demonstrates the complexity of the notion of hybridity, as it acts as a shaper of identity in specific contexts that will vary in the specific conditions that shape the hybrid cultures. Kraidy views hybridity as a mixing of heterogeneous elements into recombinant forms. This notion of hybridity considers the idea that foreign influence eradicates local traditions, and at the same time it is ambivalent towards the notion of local resilience (Kraidy, 2005, p. 40). This concept is currently debated in tourism and event literature when discussing publically-funded festivals (Burr, 2006; Carnegie & Smith, 2006; Derrett, 2004; Getz, 2002; Long et al., 2004; MacLeod, 2006; Picard & Robinson, 2006; Smith & Forest, 2006).

Labels can be problematic as multiple cultural interpretations of ‘Indianness’ are represented in the Indian diaspora, creating a multitude of flows of local and global performance identities (Brenneis, 1985; Caswell, 2012; Chakravorty & Gupta, 2010; David, 2008; Diethrich, 1999; Johnson, 2007). As pointed out by Edward Said, no one today is purely one thing, as such a label that identifies a person or organisations as Indian, or woman, or Muslim, or American have multiple meanings. These labels are starting points which, if followed into actual experience for only a minute, are left behind. But, just as human beings make their own history, they also make their own cultures and ethnic identities (Said, 1993, p. 336).

This is because we use labels to in the effort to impose a level of stability in the shifting, ambiguous world of cultural categories. AlSayyad (2001) states that there may be no fixed notions of identity as identity will always take people to the ‘other’ only to bring them back to themselves. This is clarified through the adaptation of ‘Indian’ cuisine in the UK:

Through the growth of the Indian diaspora in the United Kingdom over the years is both complex and varied, it is expressed through an assortment of points of popular cultural connection experienced and negotiated by the population as a whole in everyday ways. Indian cuisine, in both ‘pure’ and hybridised forms, has over the past 40 years or so evolved to become a highly successful and influential feature of the British ‘national’ menu (Carnegie & Smith, 2006, p. 257).

The ‘globalised’ nature of Indian performance events demonstrates a process of hybridisation in the many ways India is represented.

For example, “A” is perceived by the Auckland City Council to be ‘Indian’. He has acted as an expert on Indian culture and played important roles on cultural reference groups as a representative of the ‘Indian’ community. Nevertheless, for most members of the Indian community the important feature of “A’s” identity is that his heritage is Indo-Fijian, which is perceived by them as an entirely separate category. Auckland’s unique Indian cultural diversity creates tensions around Indian public festivities. For further discussion see Case Studies 6-8 in Chapter 2. Three different Holi celebrations are compared presenting three different ways that ‘Indianness’ is culturally transmitted.

Despite what many Indians consider his limited knowledge or experience with the Indian subcontinent, the ambiguity of "A's" identity allows him to act as Indian expert in some contexts and as the Indian with highly developed NZ contacts in others. India's cultural-linguistic diversity is, perhaps, one of the ultimate fields for the human construction of ethnicity that Said proposes. Diasporic settings exacerbate the ambiguity of identity as members of diasporic groups struggle to define themselves in ways that can be understood (and valued) by the power brokers of their new homelands. As in my example above, individuals may attempt to manipulate or construct their multiple potential identities in the attempt to establish the ephemeral ‘cultural authenticity’, especially in settings where such authenticity bestows access to funding or power.

Globalisation is characterised by increasingly mobile flows of people and encompasses the perception of how the historically rooted notion of diaspora is perceived, internally as well as external to the cultural group. These flows can increase through factors that contribute to them, such as the advent of technology or media (Appadurai, 1996; Hannerz, 1997; Rockefeller, 2011). Global flows are dynamic and create passageways in which people, communities and ideas move (Heyman & Campbell, 2009). As discussed by Shukla (2001), the globalisation of migration from South Asia creates a sense of nationality that acquires different meanings and shapes in the different global destinations. This has been explored through examining the role of performance in various localities by various scholars, notably in the East Indies (Manuel, 2000; Ramnarine, 1996), in the USA (Caswell, 2012; Chakravorty, 2009; Chakravorty & Gupta, 2010; Diethrich, 1999; Maira, 2002; Neuman, 1990; Shankar, 2008), in New Zealand and the South Pacific (Brenneis, 1985; De Souza, 2011; Johnson, 2007, 2010; Kelly, 1988; Miller, 2008; Voigt-Graf, 2008), and in the UK (Carnegie & Smith, 2006; David, 2007, 2008, 2012; Farrell, 1997; Farrell, Welch, & Bhowmick, 2000; O’Shea, 2003, 2008).

Along with the contemporary idea of globalisation as a liberating process, globalisation is characterised by the increasingly mobile flows of people. The term also tends to subsume a more historically rooted notion of diaspora: ethnic populations that have become dispersed due to a variety of ‘push’ (floods, disease, social unrest) and ‘pull’ (jobs, climate, cultural resources) factors. These mobile populations usually function outside of the containers of the ‘nation-state’, thus constantly struggling with the opportunities and challenges of dislocation, identity and the meanings of ‘home’. Complex identity structures arise between ‘local established’ ethnic communities and ‘new’ migrants, creating ‘insider-outsider’ positionality in urban environments (Carnegie & Smith, 2006, pp. 255-258).

What this means for new migrants finding a place in their new environment is a tricky balance of order, adaptability and assimilation. As pointed out by Mackerras (2005), the global world we live in creates transnational commodities, services, ideas, practices, fashion and cultural patterns that flow from one place to another with little respect for political borders. The arts manifest as a major part of contemporary globalisation. Despite this globalisation there is no sign that local cultures are going out of existence. Diasporas are contributing to the preservation of the culture of their original homelands, even though mostly they are willingly undergoing influences of the culture of their new localities.

Sustainability in event management, according to Pernecky and Lück (2013), results from a variable combination of economic feasibility, improved reputations for producers and/or artists, ongoing relationships among producers and others in the event industry, and production skill competency. Gerstin (1998) defines ‘reputation in the music scene’ as the informal, consensual evaluations by which performers judge one another’s competence and relate to one another in a social network. For the performers in this study, as well as the producers, reputation is an ever-present concern. For the producers reputation plays a pivotal role in building success factors for their events.

For most performers and producers, as they judge and compare success factors, including aesthetics, social identity, membership in specific cultural organisations, and alliances with one another and within performance networks, ideas of cultural identity and political alliances are filtered, forming communities of like-minded people (Caswell, 2012; Chakravorty & Gupta, 2010; Clarke & Jepson, 2010; Gerstin, 1998; Getz, Andersson, & Larson, 2007; van Maanen, 1988).

The producer may be expecting a large financial gain, to break even or run at a loss. These factors will be based on the producer’s personal goals and objectives. An event may

be considered a success not based on ticket sales, as the purpose of the event may be connected to a larger promotional strategy (Andersson & Getz, 2007; Cooke & Lazzeretti, 2008; Stronge, 2009).

Success may be determined by the ability to create a memorable experience. Events, as entities, offer unique opportunities to create memorable experiences that live beyond the time frame of an event. A successful event may be measured by the ability to create a space that delivers social interactions and personal experiences by the audience and participants (Pine & Gilmore, 1999).

Opportunities to enhance the reputation of the producer, the performer and the event, as an entity, may be considered more important than financial profit. Building reputation and the sense of personal achievement may create new opportunities shared throughout the production team and stakeholder networks (Clarke & Jepson, 2010, 2011; Gerstin, 1998; Swidler, 1995). Events have the potential to promote performers (local or overseas) that are dependent on family or community obligations. By activating these relationships, the events produced, may develop further opportunities to share cultural values and *communitas* (Couto, 1998; Derrett, 2003; Vertovec, 1997). The overall event programme is consistent with the overall theme and values of the event creating a positive outcomes for all stakeholders (host community, host organisation, audience, co-workers, media and sponsors) (Andersson & Getz, 2009; Lade & Jackson, 2004; McDonnell, Allen, O'Toole, & Harris, 2008; Morgan, 2008). By creating and maintaining socially sustainable production networks, reputation and status may be accumulated within local and diasporic communities, building economic, social and cultural capital (A. Booth, 2013; Caistor-Arendar, Woodcraft, & Hackett, 2011; Dillard, Dujon, & King, 2008; Heyman & Campbell, 2009; Magis & Shinn, 2009; Messer & Kecskes, 2009; Pernecky & Lück, 2013).

Socially sustainable events play an important role in creating and maintaining quality of life for individuals as well as the health of communities (Caistor-Arendar et al., 2011, p. 31). Social sustainability plays a paramount role in the continuous journey toward sustainability because it is ultimately human beings, individually and collectively, that will determine economic and environmental well-being (Magis & Shinn, 2009, p. 38).

Social sustainability can be defined as occurring when formal and informal processes, systems, structures, and relationships actively support the capacity of current and future generations to create healthy and liveable communities. Socially sustainable communities are equitable, diverse, connected and democratic, and provide a good quality

of life (McKenzie, 2004, p. 18). There has been much debate on notions of sustainability focusing on events and their economic, environmental and social impacts on host communities and tourism (Getz, 1997; McDonnell et al., 2008; Raj & Musgrove, 2009; Richards, 2007; Yeoman, Ali-Knight, Robertson, Drummond, & McMahon-Beattie, 2004). Little attention has been paid to the sustainable production processes of performance events involving specific ethnic communities and how this contributes to social sustainability (A. Booth, 2013). This study goes some way to addressing this gap in the literature.

Festivalisation and Cultural Policies

With the growth and expansion of festivals that are ostensibly produced by and for the community, the events are increasingly exposed to the tourist gaze and must therefore function with changing audiences, social objectives, and often new global pressures including economic, political and economic impacts (Aitchison & Pritchard, 2007; Yeoman et al., 2004). Festivals have been described as “occasions by which a local community can legitimise, establish, display or embellish its collective identity, and provide the tourist with the opportunity to temporarily confront and engage with aspects of ‘otherness’ expressed in the context of celebration” (Long et al., 2004, p. 8).

Events and festivals offer new migrants a place with a sense of belonging and opportunities to share interests in a community in which they seek to belong. According to Clarke and Jepson (2011), a successful community-based festival should ensure that the community’s concerns are central to the overall festival production process and that the community’s culture should be apparent throughout the festival. Festivals and events are considered as significant cultural sites that produce and rework culture and identity (Aitchison & Pritchard, 2007).

Festivals provide important occasions for the overt exhibition of political power is particularly demonstrated by the practices of spectacle, play and gifting. Contemporary festivals imply and manifest various forms of political relations of authority between the participants or particular networks of participants (Picard & Robinson, 2006, p. 13). Community power may be represented through festivals. For example, political hegemony could be exercised over less powerful ethnic groups by supplying the vast majority with nationalised celebrations to deflect attention away from these minority groups and their real issues (Clarke & Jepson, 2010, p. 8). Cultural policy explicitly favours particular (cultural-identity-based) creative expressions. When the meaning of cultural identity is

rapidly changing, it becomes unclear whom cultural policy should favour (J. P. Singh, 2011, p. 5)

Increasingly, cities and nations are creating event-specific policies for companies to bid on events. Bidding on events is viewed as important as they attract local as well as international visitors. The event bidder is an entity or organisation that is seeking to secure the rights to host an event. In most cases there is more than one event bidder, resulting in a competitive bidding process. Over the past two decades in New Zealand there has been an increase in the number of individuals and organisations bidding for events. Bids are critical components of the funding of festivals and mega-events (Dunphy, 2007). Mega-events are those events that are so large that they affect whole economies and receive global media attention such as Olympic Games and World Fairs (Johnny Allen et al., 2008, p. 12) Richard and Wilson (2004) remind us that tourism, leisure, sport and culture are no longer discrete elements of consumption to be enjoyed in their over-specific industry-sectors. Events have economic and social impacts on the local economy. Events and festivals have benefited from a growing amount of public sector expenditure (Wood, 2009).

Government control and power over cultural festivals affects ways in which communities are involved and cultural identity is represented to the wider public. David Harnish's 2006 ethnographic study of the Lingsar festival in Lombok demonstrates how the Indonesian government has had an increased influence over the festival's direction, meaning, and interpretation. This is a process of 'de-traditionalisation' and modernisation, and the re-invention of the Lingsar festival serves to further the government's own interests and to assert a particular socio-political identity in a postcolonial, modernist, and newly democratic Indonesia. Increased government influence has created new tensions between the Balinese and Sasak communities who live together on Lombok, and have different religions and cultural practices. The local government, representing the majority Islamic government in Jakarta, has proclaimed the festivals as 'non-Islamic', and the Sasak festival leaders have reacted by introducing more Islamic interpretation to legitimise participation. The Balinese have responded by seeking to 'Hinduise' the festival even further – at the risk of alienating Sasak officials who insist that it should remain part of their unique and secular cultural inheritance (Harnish, 2006).

This is not an unfamiliar theme in cultural festival management literature. Globally, cultural events have become a means adding life to cities for local residents as well as the destination tourist (Hall & Ruser, 2004; Long et al., 2004; Picard & Robinson, 2006). City councils have come to expect a high return on their support of festival investment

(Richards, 2007). Observation and participation in festivals is an increasingly significant aspect of the contemporary tourist experience (Canali & d'Angella, 2009). Such festivals are not without conflict within the host community.

The evolution of festivalisation has had an impact on the growth and development of the global event industry and on how communities are represented. Cultural policy and the role of government in festival and performing arts management will be explored to understand how the economic and political dimensions of cultural policies affect who does and does not benefit from government support.

Festivalisation is a term that was developed in the literature of German urban sociology (Haussermann & Siebel, 1993; Roth & Frank, 2000). Festivalisation refers to the politics of big events and their political and economic consequences on the host environment (Roth & Frank, 2000, p. 219). Festivals may have a significant impact on their local economic, social, and environmental settings over both the long and short term. The social functions and the symbolic meanings of festivals are framed within a series of overt values that communities recognise as essential to their common ideologies and worldview (Couto, 1998; Diethrich, 1999; Rice, 2001).

Festivals embrace a community's social identity, unity, historical continuity, and sustainability (Wood, 2009). Festivals are resource-dependent and as they mature they begin to act more like institutions that are united for a specific purpose becoming a permanent, legitimate and valued new segment of society. It has been argued that festival organisations must strive to become institutions in their resource environment to become sustainable and that very few festivals organisations are likely to reach this status (Getz et al., 2007, p. 121).

Festivals and mega-events are increasingly being used as marketing tools by cities as well as by nations in order to promote themselves. Major events are capable, by their scale and media interest, of attracting significant numbers of visitors to a destination. Organisers use historical and cultural themes to develop annual festival events that attract visitors and create cultural prestige for their cities (Aitchison & Pritchard, 2007; Brown & Chappell, 2008; Cooke & Lazzeretti, 2008; R. Stokes, 2007; Yeoman et al., 2004). Such events are often motivated by the tourism and economic opportunities as well as the social and cultural benefits they may generate for communities (Pernecky & Lück, 2013; Picard & Robinson, 2006; Raj & Musgrove, 2009; Smith-Christensen, 2009).

Richards (2007) links this phenomenon to major developments in cultural policy since the 1970s, especially increased competition between cities for tourism dollars. The

sheer size and media presence of festivals and other major events means that they are capable of attracting significant numbers of visitors to a destination. As pointed out by Aitchison and Prichard (2007), the wider roles that events play are important for developing both national identity and national entrepreneurship through cultural activities.

Over the past decade a major global trend identifies that cultural events have become key cultural policy initiatives in rejuvenating neighbourhoods as well as nations. Cultural events involving diasporic communities have played as significant trend in this global phenomenon (Johnson & Figgins, 2005; Picard & Robinson, 2006; Richards & Wilson, 2004; Yeoman et al., 2004). Ann Swidler discusses the role of power and the cultural dimensions of social movements, arguing that social movements respond to institutional constraints and opportunities. Culture can have consistent, coherent effects on action in particular contexts even if individuals and groups are divided and inconsistent in their beliefs (Swidler, 1995, p. 39). With this in mind, cultural events are public practices infused with power and shaped by collective ideologies that may not reflect the individual beliefs of those involved; at the same time cultural events create powerful sites for cultural transmission and building community.

In organising events, policy institutions create an institutional framework that includes legislators (elected or otherwise), government agencies (such as culture, sport, tourism and economic development), public-private partnerships, private-government partnerships, regulators, as well as other organisations that hold power such as trade unions and political parties.

Cultural policy as a term embraces many realms of activities, including government and philanthropic financing for arts and culture (Dominguez, 2000; Dye, 1992; Hall & Rusher, 2004; Yeoman et al., 2004). The inherent financial and political powers of cultural policies affect how events are managed. The goal-directed process by governments and their agencies, manifested in laws, regulations, decisions (both actions and inaction) and intentions may be regarded as specific problems or areas of public concern. (Getz, 2007, p. 328).

The different policy sources are derived from various sections of government reflecting the diverse nature of the events themselves (Hall & Rusher, 2004). Wallach (2000) points out that cultural policy is a creative avenue for events to link public and private sector initiatives but can also involve highly contested terrain.

Attracting visitors is only one component in a complex series of relationships, including employment generation, publicity and media coverage, celebration, community

pride, cultural identity, industry and cultural exchange. Culture is a vehicle for individual expression; policy is legislation en masse (Bradford, 2000). Culture plays an important function both in local economies and in the globalised and technologically driven world.

Public policies and resulting regulations or laws have impacts on and across the events sector. Policies can be acts of power, as they involve political power, special interest groups and lobbyists seeking to influence policies and issues. “Public policy is whatever governments choose to do or not to do” (Dye, 1992, p. 2). The importance of the interactions between hosting events and public policy decisions is impacted by action, inaction, decisions and non-decisions, as those making the policies have the power to choose between alternatives within the government structure.

The dimensions within which events operate offer the opportunity to consider a variety of public policy topics including the political nature of the event policy-making process, public participation in the event planning and policy process, the sources of power in event policy making, the exercise of choice by public officials in complex policy environments and perceptions as to the effectiveness of event policies (Hall & Rusher, 2004, p. 249).

Community input in the public policy-making process affects the event life cycle. This degree of ownership has an impact and influence on the development of a region’s event policies, particularly as the festival is used as a benchmark for other event activities. It is important to understand festivals as particular and located events, but also as having the ability to create a commodity capable of reproduction, relative to wider social changes in audiences and political agendas (Carnegie & Smith, 2006).

Festival organisers use historical and cultural themes to develop annual events to attract visitors and create cultural images in host cities by holding festivals in community settings (Yeoman et al., 2004). The hosting of such events is often developed because of the tourism and economic opportunities as well as social and cultural benefits generated for communities (Raj, Walters, & Rashid, 2008). ‘Hallmark event’ is a term used to describe a recurring event that possesses such significance – in terms of tradition, attractiveness, image or publicity – that it provides the host venue, community or destination with a competitive advantage. Classic examples of hallmark events include Carnival in Rio de Janeiro, the Tour de France, the Edinburgh Festival, the Melbourne Cup and the New York Marathon (McDonnell et al., 2008).

Festivals and events are considered as significant cultural activities that produce and rework culture and identity. Brown and Chappell demonstrate how the Australian

government places sporting events, arts festivals, and celebrations of cultural identity appear on the annual ritual calendar (Brown & Chappell, 2008). While some events are produced for economic gain, others are public celebrations, run by groups of local volunteers that are expressions of pride of identity.

Brown and Chappell compare two annual festivals held in the Adelaide region that demonstrate differences of government support and the representation of cultural identity. The first event is a Robbie Burns birthday commemoration that is one of many examples of the survival of Scottish identity in Australia and acts as a means of linking the Scottish-Australians with the Scottish global diaspora. The media, for the most part, ignores this event, as Scottish celebrations are not considered 'ethnic', thus keeping this festival small and local. The Scots do not consider themselves English and those who support these festivities do so to reinforce their pride of heritage. This is in contrast to the Cornish Festival that is promoted as a cultural tourism destination and has been attracting international and domestic tourists since 1973. From the onset this festival has received financial government support. The location, Little Cornwall, is advantageous as the residents are descendants of the Cornish miners, who arrived in the 1800s, are concentrated in one historical region.

The historic buildings and local museum have been maintained and create a backdrop for the festivities, adding pride of place and a sense of 'authenticity' to the event. Getz (2004) notes that authenticity takes on different meaning in the context of traditional as opposed to created events (as cited in Zeppel, 2013, pp. 133-134). All cultures consciously or subconsciously manufacture and reproduce cultural 'authenticity' to appeal to tourists (J. P. Singh, 2011, p. 133). Authenticity changes over time; it is an ever changing system of representation rather than affixed set of objects and ideas (Zeppel, 2013, p. 225). In this way public-policy decision-making processes involve the integration of a diverse set of values (individuals, interest groups, and public and private organisations).

Differing values may cause conflicts that create negative impacts on the size and success of events (Clarke & Jepson, 2011). As governments turn their gaze to the potential profits cultural tourism can bring to their localities, host communities can be impacted positively as well as negatively (Aitchison & Pritchard, 2007; Cooke & Lazzeretti, 2008; Dominguez, 2000; Getz, 2007; Hall & Rusher, 2004; Richards, 2007; G. Richards & J. Wilson, 2004; Van Aalst & van Melik, 2012; Vuletich, 2005).

Events and Stakeholder Relationships

There is a large body of research on event production that addresses questions of festival stakeholder roles (Getz, 2010; Getz et al., 2007), ethnic festivals (Johnson, 2010; Picard & Robinson, 2006), motivation (Wilson, 2005), network formation (Erickson & Kushner, 1999; Gulati & Gargiulo, 1999) and collaborative entrepreneurship (Cooke & Lazzarotti, 2008). Most of this research focuses on festivals, sports and mega-events.

Recent New Zealand-based studies that consider festival stakeholder relationships include the works of Mackley-Crump (2012) and Buch, Dickson, & Milne (2011), which focus on Pasifika, a long-running annual festival representing the Pacific communities in Auckland. These two works approach the same event from two completely different perspectives. Mackley-Crump's PhD thesis, completed in 2012, is an ethnographic study that focuses on the meaning of festivals and the musical performances presented within festival spaces to explore how notions of place, culture and identity have been changed in the process. Buch, Dickson, & Milne's 2011 study takes a quite different perspective to the same festival: That of tourism discourse. It argues that previous festival and event research has normally taken a single stakeholder perspective focusing exclusively on the visitor. Their research takes a multiple stakeholder perspective utilising an online data analysis tool for the benefit of further festival tourism research.

All events involve a network of people involved in the production process. Events have the potential to create lasting memories, as a special event is an opportunity for an experience outside the normal range of choices or beyond everyday experience. Production networks typically include a variety of relationships between event stakeholders, including producers, artists, venues, suppliers, sponsors, media, audiences, friends, family and other members of the event community. The six main categories of event stakeholders in event management theory are identified as follows: host organisation, host community, media, participants and audience, co-workers (including volunteers), and sponsors and funding agents (Getz, 1997, 2007). Stakeholder relationships interact and involve reciprocal benefits, Getz, notes that "The event experience is always at least partially dependent upon the expectations and attitudes of those involved, and on one's willingness to enter into the spirit of the occasion" (2012, pp. 208-209).

Festivals have a more complicated management structure than concerts and other types of performing arts events and require additional levels of stakeholder relationships and partnerships from concerts to access the necessary resources. Getz, Andersson and Larson create a model that explains how festival managers identify, evaluate, and manage

vital stakeholder relationships by identifying key stakeholders, their relationships, and how they are managed (Getz et al., 2007, p. 109). In this model festivals are not organised by an individual producer but by a production team that includes owners/investors, directors, employees, volunteers, members and advisors. This adds a further dimension to festival stakeholder relationships, as the team formation will include private, corporate and/or government agencies that have vested interests in the aims, objectives and ultimate success of the festival.

Wood (2009) demonstrates how the social and economic impacts of local authority community festivals are partly determined (in magnitude and validity) by the perspective of the affected stakeholders. It is therefore important to recognise that, for example, at a national level there may be positive economic benefits whereas at a local level these may be minimal or negative. A larger-scale event, such as the 2011 Rugby World Cup, is expected to deliver both local and national social benefits to the host community. The benefits will differ in type and outcome as culture is increasingly utilised as a means of social and economic development, and the impact of the event may result in a flooded cultural tourism market (Richards, 2007).

Wood (2009) discusses the importance of the stakeholder's perspective and identifies four categories of community-based events and festivals: societal, regional, community, and personal. The proliferation of community festivals and the growth of local government intervention, as in the Diwali and Pasifika festivals in New Zealand, are echoed by observations in the United Kingdom (Long et al., 2004). Community festivals serve to help create a shared identity in areas where population changes (Derrett, 2000, 2003; Hall & Rusher, 2004; Jago et al., 2003) and increased mobility can lead to a lack of stability and continuity (Clarke & Jepson, 2011; Derrett, 2000, 2003; Hall & Rusher, 2004; Jago et al., 2003).

Indian Cultural Organisations in Auckland, Demographic Details and Migration History

This section briefly describes the formation of Indian cultural organisations in New Zealand and places them in a historical and cultural context with reference to the migration patterns in Auckland. This context is important to understand as it underpins current community organisation event practices. For the Indian diaspora, globalisation has in no way diminished the intensity of nationalism; as noted by Sandhya Shukla, “there is a powerful argument to be made about the increase in nationalism through very

contemporary negotiations of global and local spheres of culture, politics and economy” (Shukla, 2001, p. 564).

The rise of the Indian nation-state in post-World War II and post-the Indian independence period of 1947, the increase in nationalism can be tied to changes in technology, communication and community associated with globalisation. This being the case, it is important to recognise aspects of migration and historical facts that contextualise the development of Indian community organisations and the migration patterns of settlement in New Zealand.

Most early migrants from sub-continental India arrived as indentured labourers and workers. Although Indians have been arriving in New Zealand for the last 150 years (mostly Sikhs from the Panjab¹ and, later, Hindus from Gujarati) numbers remained relatively low until the mid-1980s (Leckie, 2007). More recently, migration reflects a global pattern that includes many professionals who have left India to work elsewhere, often after having completed their education or training in another country besides New Zealand or India (Friesen & Kearns, 2008).

Sometimes several generations of families have become established in this way. This pattern is reflected in the history of Indian emigration to New Zealand. They tend to settle in concentrated pockets in the North Island. Panjabis settled in the Waikato, Gujaratis in Auckland and Wellington (Leckie, 2007). Between 1986 and 2001, the Indian population in New Zealand more than quadrupled in size and, by the last census in 2006, there were 104,600 people those claiming Indian cultural identity living in the country. Over two-thirds of New Zealand’s Indians live in Auckland, the majority in or around Sandringham, Mt. Roskill, Avondale, Lynfield, and Hillsborough (Lewin et al., 2011).

¹ Panjab is the correct transliteration of the region, in north western India, traditionally named for its five (panch) rivers). The alternative spelling, ‘Punjab’ is an Indian carryover from British practice resulting from the ambiguity of vowels in the English language.

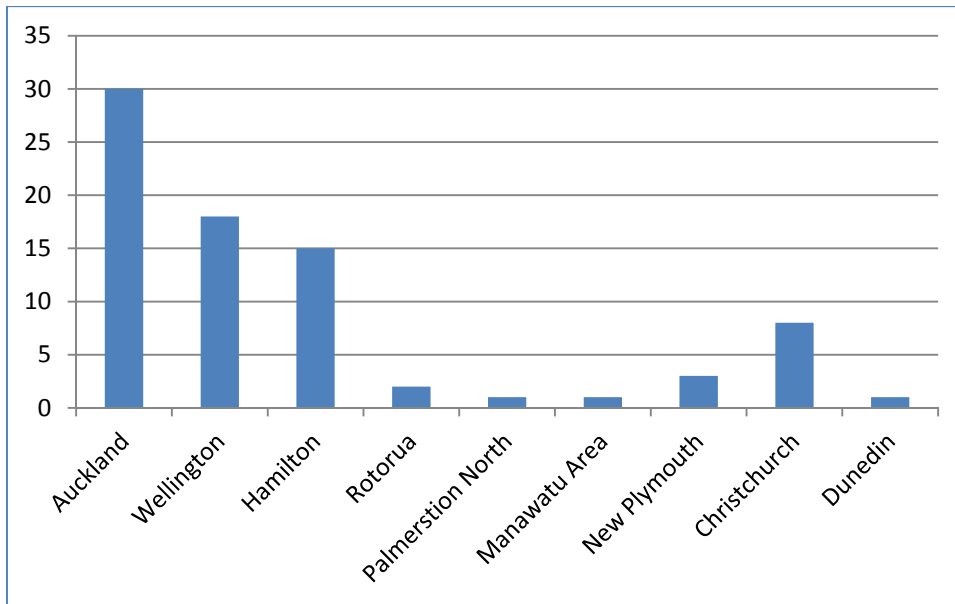


Figure 1. Indian Community Organisations in New Zealand Cities

SOURCE: Tangient. (2013). The Indian Diaspora in New Zealand: Links to Groups and organisations. Retrieved 16/02/2013, from <http://indiandiaspora.wikispaces.com/links>

Figure 1 indicates the numbers of Indian cultural organisations in New Zealand cities. Of the 69 organisations listed, 45 – or 65 percent – are located in Auckland and Hamilton. As New Zealand’s largest city and the convenient location of the country’s primary international airport, Auckland is an obvious and attractive destination for Indian migrants. As mentioned above, Auckland is the home of the majority of Indians in New Zealand. The two neighbouring cities in the North Island, Auckland and Hamilton, have the largest and oldest Indian communities. The major cities of New Zealand; Auckland, Wellington, Dunedin, Hamilton and Christchurch have active Indian community organisations. They produce social events such as concerts, and cultural festivals that include the performing arts.

Hamilton is increasingly connected to Auckland and is a growing urban centre. Hamilton is considerably less expensive to live in and is an attractive alternative. In addition, Hamilton is the urban centre of the Waikato region and close to the Bay of Plenty region, both agricultural centres farmed by Sikh communities for generations. Of the 14 main gurdwaras (Sikh temples) identified in New Zealand, six are in Auckland, three are in Hamilton and one is in the Bay of Plenty. The remaining four are in Wellington, Tauranga, Nelson and Palmerston North.

Wellington and Christchurch also have active cultural organisations, but together their percentage of organisations of the total, at 22 percent, represents much smaller populations than found in the Auckland and Hamilton Indian communities.

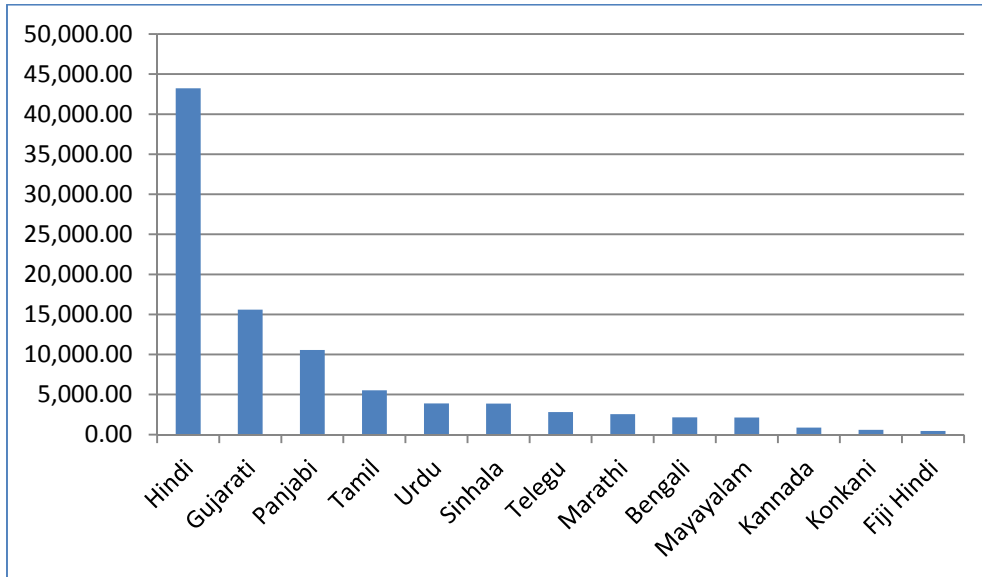


Figure 2 Major Indian Language Groups of New Zealand Residents

SOURCE: Statistics NZ (2006). Census Data about People. Wellington: statsphere.govt.nz. Retrieved 12/09/2012, from <http://www.stats.govt.nz/Census/2006CensusHomePage/classification-counts-tables/about-people/language-spoken.aspx>

Figure 2 identifies the major Indian language groups in New Zealand identified by the 2006 census. Hindi, Gujarati and Panjabi are the languages most widely spoken. Until the 1980s, over 90 percent of New Zealand Indians were from Gujarat and most were Hindu. The next biggest group came from the Panjab and were usually Sikh, followed by Fijian-born Indians. By the 1986 census, 45 percent of a total New Zealand Indian population of 11,577 had been born in New Zealand, while 31 percent had been born in India. Since then, the number of Indians (defined as people who identify as Indian on the census ethnicity question) resident in New Zealand has increased to over 100,000. This research must rely on the 2006 census details as the more recent census was postponed to February 2013 due to the 2011 Christchurch earthquakes.

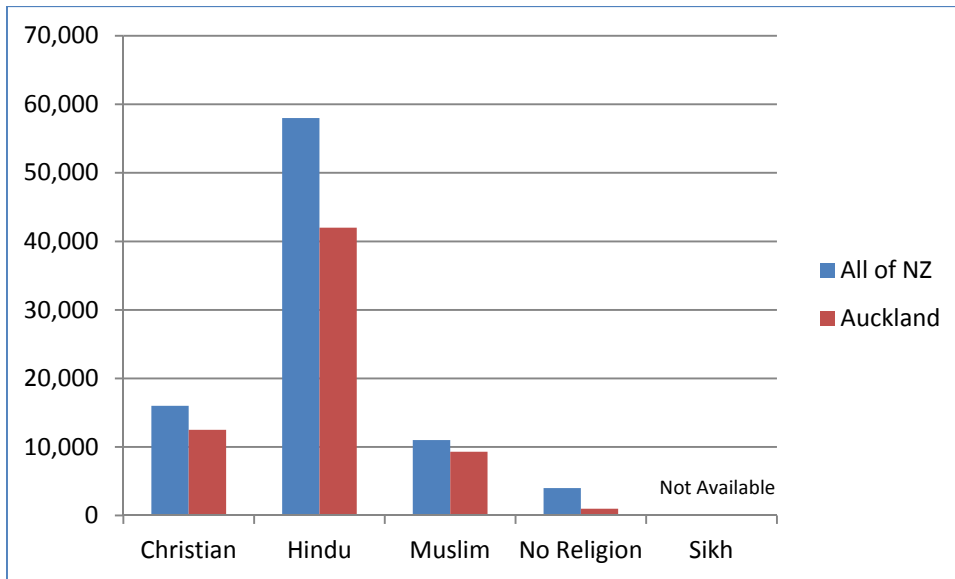


Figure 3. Indian Population by Religious Affiliation

SOURCE: Statistics NZ. (2006) Asian Ethnic Groups Selected by Religious Affiliations, 2006 Census. Retrieved 12/09/2012, from <http://nzdotstat.stats.govt.nz>

Figure 3 identifies the Indian population in New Zealand by religious affiliation (Statistics NZ, 2013). As expected, Hinduism is the major religion with the majority of Indians living in the Auckland region. The statistics are limited as the Census failed to include the religious affiliation of Sikh community in the data. Leckie (2007), notes the NZ Sikh Society was founded in 1964, and the Otahuhu gurdwara in South Auckland, founded in the late 1980s, is the country's oldest and most active gurdwara. There are many smaller gurdwaras in the western, eastern and southern suburbs of Auckland. Many have active cultural schools and they all include music in the context of worship.

New Zealand's Muslim population traces its origins to three Sunni Vohras from Gujarat who migrated to Auckland in the 1930s. The New Zealand Muslim Society was founded in 1950 by these first migrants and another small group of migrants that arrived in Auckland via Fiji. In addition, there are Christian churches that hold services in regional dialects, for example Cavalry Tamil Church in New Lynn, Mercy Gates Indian Christian Fellowship in Pukekohe, and the Telugu Church of New Zealand in Mount Eden.

For the Goan community, the Catholic Church has been a mechanism of integration, offering a two-way exchange of support and energy through social support and spiritual and secular activities. The Church provides a mechanism for facilitating cultural continuity while simultaneously easing immigrants' transitions into New Zealand. De Souza expresses clearly the very important role that religious as well as other cultural

organisations serve for migrant communities and especially for women settling into new communities (De Souza, 2011).

Kalpana Ram, (Ram, 2002, p. 262) in her research on dance on transnational Indian communities in Australia, describes cultural transmission as “an anxiety-driven project that is symptomatic of a disturbance in migrants’ relationship to their past, present and future”. Community organisations in the role of event producers create sites for rituals and celebrations that are based on linguistic, religious and regional differences. They serve an important function in soothing the trauma of transnationalism (De Souza, 2011; Ram, 2000; A. Roy, 2001; Voigt-Graf, 2008).

Table 1. Language and Indian Cultural Organisations in Auckland

Language	Number of Speakers	Percentage	Auckland cultural organisation affiliations and founding dates
Hindi	43,229	46.00%	Auckland Indian Association (1938) Manukau Indian Association (1981) Bhartiya Samaj (1995) Waitakere Indian Association (2000)
Gujarati	15,588	16.50%	Auckland Indian Association (1938) Pukekohe Indian Association (1913)
Panjabi	10,569	11.20%	New Zealand Punjabi Cultural Association (1960s) Sikh Centre (1964)
Tamil	5535	5.80%	Muththamil Sangam (2002) NZ Carnatic Music Society (1999)
Urdu	3879	4.00%	Urdu Hindi Cultural Association of New Zealand Inc. (2011)
Sinhala	3854	4.00%	United Sri Lanka Association, Auckland Branch (2000?)
Telegu	2802	3.00%	New Zealand Telegu Association (1998)
Marathi	2547	2.70%	Auckland Marathi Association (2005) Migrant Heritage Charitable Trust (2000?)
Bengali	2159	2.30%	Probasee Bengali Association of New Zealand (2000?)
Malayalam	2125	2.20%	Auckland Malayalee Samajham (2012)
Kannada	876	0.90%	New Zealand Kannada Koota (2000?)
Konkani	582	0.62%	NZ Mangalorean Inc. (2009)
Fiji Hindi	444	0.47%	Fiji Association in Auckland (1970)
Total	94,199		

Table 1 correlates statistical data from Figure 2 (Major Indian Language Groups of New Zealand Residents) with Figure 3 (Indian Population by Religious Affiliation) with statistics available that identity specific Indian cultural organisations by linguistic affiliations in Auckland. The three oldest associations represent the major Indian linguistic communities in Auckland. The Auckland Indian Association culturally aligns with two linguistic groups: Hindi and Gujarati. It is one of the oldest organisations and was

registered in 1938. The New Zealand Punjabi Cultural Association has been active in the Papakura area since the 1960s.



Figure 4. Nehru Hall in Pukekohe, built by the Pukekohe Indian Association in 1953 is no longer used for events as the community has outgrown the venue (Photograph by Alison Booth)

More recent organisations include the Sikh Centre in 1964 and the Auckland Fiji Association in 1970. The Manukau Indian Association became an incorporated society in 1981 and was renamed to the South Auckland Indian Cultural Society, providing support for the Gujarati and Panjabi communities of South Auckland. Since the growth in migration in the 1990s many other cultural associations have been formed including the Auckland Marathi Association, the Bhartiya Samaj Charitable Trust, the New Zealand Carnatic Music Society and the Waitakere Indian Association.

There clearly is a long history of Indian cultural presence in New Zealand and specifically in the Auckland region, going back generations in some cases, but that history is beyond the scope of this research project.² Many of the older cultural societies have memberships spanning generations. More recently, the influx of new migrants has created a variety of new community groups and an increase in participation in established organisations as they serve the needs of new migrants yearning for social interaction with community members who share the language and customs of home. Many organisations focus on sports and social gatherings, and others actively produce cultural performances. An important commonality is the grassroots nature of these producers and their focus on

² For more information, see Bandyopadhyay (2010), Friesen & Kearns (2008) and Leckie (2007).

creating events that are by nature culturally exclusive due to differing linguistic, religious and cultural traditions.

The Auckland Indian communities create cultural events that are outward manifestations of the identity of the community they are representing, and create specific identifiers of cultural practices in a community context. In this way, community organisations work as powerful mediums for cultural transmission as well as providing minority communities the opportunity to have their voices heard through events such as music, dance, sports or religious celebrations.

Aucklanders of Indian heritage sometimes identify as a united whole, but also self-identify by their linguistic, religious, and regional affiliations (Friesen & Kearns, 2008). Language acts as a bi-directional flow, binding community identity locally, and at the same time reinforcing the ongoing linkages of transnationalism, crossing geographical borders in the real as well as virtual worlds.

Gaps in the Literature

Donald Getz (2010, p. 21) states that to fully understand and create knowledge about festivals it is necessary to consider who produces them and why, how they are planned and managed, why people attend (or do not), their outcomes on multiple levels, and the dynamic forces shaping individual festivals and festival populations. This concept has not been fully explored in the literature from an ethnographic perspective. Ethnographic studies are particularly lacking in the event and festival management literature. Academic literature that focuses on cultural events is a sparse compared the more developed literature in tourism studies and sports management.

Getz describes the 'festival tourism' discourse as focusing on festivals as economic development. He notes a significant body of work using this approach, characterised by considerable reflection and well-developed critical theory. As Getz points out, there are three major types of academic discourse within festival studies, along academically structured lines of reasoning: classical, festival tourism, and event management. Getz views 'classical discourse' as being concerned with the roles, meanings and impacts of festivals in society and culture in anthropology and sociology research. He identifies the content of literature connected to festival tourism management as an underdeveloped area of research. The third discourse, 'event management', has focused on the production and marketing of festivals and the management of festival organisations, with some presence in

the tourism literature (for marketing purposes), but with little recognition of the classical discourse in event management research, concepts or practice (Getz, 2010, pp. 12-13).

The approach to the research in this thesis is intertwined with multiple disciplines and presented to contribute further to this developing area of academic research in event management. It is also important to restate that ethnographic research in the growing field of festival and event literature is limited. Holloway, et al. (2010, p. 75), have noted that ethnographic research is valuable for researchers focussing on the event experience and a real need has been identified for more experience-related studies within a qualitative research approach as this will help to further the knowledge base and develop theory in the events literature. The findings in this thesis will help address this need.

Part Two: Methodology

This ethnographic study recognises that when we describe something, even in telling our own story, it is (in the normal course of events) the voice of our culture – its many voices, in fact – that is heard in what we say. This dilemma influences how the researcher approaches their work. Ethnographies are portraits of diversity in an increasingly globalised world displaying the intricate ways in which individuals and groups resist a presumably shared order (van Maanen, 1988, p. xiv). Ethnography rests on the methods of participant observation and interviewing that have been employed. The researcher commits to ‘engagement with’ and ‘participation in’ in everyday situations in social life. The ethnographic way of knowing builds upon “inter-subjectiveness” grounded in theoretical sampling, saturation and theoretical analysis in order to shape the context in which the researcher makes their own judgements (Botterill & Platenkamp, 2012, pp. 83-84).

Research Foundations: The Theoretical Assumption

This thesis approaches ethnography as a realist account of culture. The research method employed Clifford’s (1988) four conventions of the realist tale as discussed further by John van Maanan (1988, pp. 45-51), who states that there has been a contentious struggle between researchers to put ethnography on the intellectual literary map. In this approach, the researcher presents an almost complete absence of one’s own voice while a studied neutrality results in lengthy descriptions that allow the informants’ cultural perspectives to emerge. By allowing the expression of ‘other’ cultural points of view the research allows informants to have their say. In the end, interpretive omnipotence must be recognised,

where the ethnographer has the final word on how the culture is to be interpreted and presented.

Cultural description is tied to a theoretical problem of interest to the fieldworkers' disciplinary community or increasingly, sub-community (Clifford & Marcus, 1986, p. 45). Realist tales push 'most firmly' for the authenticity of the cultural representations conveyed by the text. This approach is by far the most prominent, familiar, prevalent, popular and recognised form of ethnography. Field data, in such cases, are put forth as facts marshalled in accordance with the light they may shed on the generic topic of interest and fieldworker's stand on the matter (*ibid.*, pp. 48- 51). I have tried to adhere to these conventions and hope that my form is compelling and the theory is illustrated clearly by the findings of my empirical field data.

Social constructionism is a philosophical position upon which this research sits. The approach takes the stance that the meaning of the social world is not discovered but constructed by history, society, ideas and language (Botterill & Platenkamp, 2012). Social constructionism is at once realist and relativist (Crotty, 1988). This ontological stance is also discussed by who note that despite the objectivity that marks the social world in human experience, it does not thereby acquire an ontological status apart from the human activity that produced it (Berger & Luckmann, 1966).

This philosophical paradox involves humans being capable of producing a world that is experienced as something other than a human product. The relationship between people, the producer, and the social world, the product, is and remains a dialectical one. Society is a human product. Society is an objective reality: man is a social and society is constructed. In other words to say that meaningful reality is socially constructed is not to say that it is not real (Crotty, 1988). Therefore constructionism, in epistemology, is perfectly compatible with realism in ontology as well as relativism. We need to recognise that 'the ways things are' is really just 'the sense we make of them'. At the very least this means that description and narration can no longer be seen as straightforwardly representational of reality. With this in mind it is essential that the researcher be aware of their own cultural biases. There is no such thing as a singular culture equating to a singular language.

The work of Thomas Turino and James Lea (2004) demonstrate the important role the arts play in the articulation of identity for the existence of social groups and political movements in the postmodern world. Edward Said states, "there is no discipline, no structure of knowledge, no institution or epistemology that can or has ever stood free of the

various sociocultural, historical and political formations that give epochs their peculiar individuality” (Said, 2000, p. 299). From this viewpoint, culture is seen as global issues wrapped in hybridity, globalisation and diasporic identity and part of the postmodern condition. In the words of James Clifford, “one cannot occupy, unambiguously, a bounded cultural world from which to journey out and analyse other cultures. Human ways of life increasingly influence, dominate, parody, translate and subvert one another”(Clifford & Marcus, 1986, p. 22).

Jean-François Lyotard refers to the ‘postmodern’ as a historical/cultural ‘condition’ based on a dissolution of master narratives or metanarratives (totalising narrative paradigms like progress and national histories), a crisis in ideology when ideology no longer seems transparent (Lyotard, 1984) . Postmodernism, according to Martin Irvine (2009), is the theoretical understanding that underlies the ‘global village’ phenomenon characterised by the globalisation of cultures, races, images, capital and products. The ‘information age’ has caused a redefinition of nation-state identities, which were the foundation of the modern era with the dissemination of images and information across national boundaries. This has caused a sense of erosion or breakdown of national, linguistic, ethnic, and cultural identities, a sense of a global mixing of cultures on a scale unknown to pre-information-era societies.

The realist tales embedded in this research are situated in this complex, postmodern global village. The methods recognise the complexity of cultural identity, diaspora, community and cultural representation. Because this study involves the complex nature of cultural production, mixed methods were employed, including the gathering of both primary and secondary data.

Validity, Reliability and Generalisability

According to Crotty (1988), reporting research findings requires comprehensively engaging in the research process. Validity, reliability and generalisability are required in the process of justifying the research findings and are taken into account to confirm the research conclusions. One of the biggest challenges confronting qualitative researchers is how to assure the quality and trustworthiness of their research. This is approached by the value of qualitative research, which needs to be argued for and justified against established criteria.

To understand the meaning of reliability and validity, Golafshani (2003) presents various definitions given by many qualitative researchers from different perspectives,

taking into account that the use of reliability and validity are common in quantitative research and demonstrating how the concepts need to be reconsidered as qualitative research paradigm is moving away from the traditional positivist (scientific) paradigm. The ethnographic literature offers a vast collection of method examples for qualitative research inquiry (Bendrup, 2010; Johnson & Figgins, 2005; Picard & Robinson, 2006; van Maanen, 1988) demonstrating findings that are valid and reliable.

This being the case, reliability, validity, generalisability and objectivity are fundamental concerns for quantitative researchers. For qualitative researchers and specifically ethnographers, the roles of these terms are blurred and, as such, qualitative research approaches are geared towards trustworthiness (Crotty, 1988; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Patton, 2002).

The constructionist view of language leads to substantial scepticism concerning the epistemological foundation of scientific practices. The pursuit of universal or general laws; the capacity of science to produce accurate portrayals of its subject matter, the possibility of scientific progression towards objective truth; and the right to claims of scientific 'truth' are all undermined (Outhwaite & Turner, 2007, p. 466). Denzin and Lincoln have called this the 'crisis of validity' and respond to the issues of validity, reliability, and generalisability. They argue that validity ultimately has to do with the processes of description and explanation, and whether or not the given explanation fits a given description. "In other words, is the explanation credible?" (Denzin & Lincoln, 1997, p. 50) .

Validity is established through a process of triangulation, (Denzin & Lincoln, 1997; Guba & Lincoln, 1989; Yin, 2003), which refers to the use of more than one approach to the investigation of a research question in order to enhance confidence in the ensuing findings. When social science research relies on a single method, it may suffer the limitations inherent in that method as applied to the topic or phenomenon being studied. Triangulation offers the prospect of enhanced confidence because it may offer multiple methodological perspectives on the topic of study (Bryman, 2003, p. 1142). In the case of this research, triangulation was achieved through the use of ethnographic, archival and participatory methods and through the representation of data in textual and graphic form. In addition, reflexive analysis was used to ensure that the researcher was aware of her influence on the data (Krefting, 1991, p. 220). A journal was kept during the data collection period to gather thoughts and reflections of my experience within the framework of the research.

The process of writing up case studies as thick descriptions allows observations of local behaviours to be contextualised, presenting the findings in the anthropological tradition of Clifford Geertz.

One can, and this in fact is how the field progresses conceptually, take a line of theoretical attack developed in connection with one exercise in ethnographic interpretation and employ it in another, pushing it forward to greater precision and broader relevance; but one cannot write a 'General Theory of Cultural Interpretation'. Or, rather, one can, but there appears to be little profit in it, because the essential task of theory building here is not to codify abstract regularities but to make thick description possible, not to generalize across cases but to generalize within them (Geertz, 1973, p. 8).

From this theoretical perspective, an ethnographer must present a 'thick' description, which is composed not only of facts ('thin' description) but also of commentary, interpretation and interpretations of those comments and interpretations.

With this in mind it is important to place myself in the research framework. I should note that I am not of South Asian heritage and was born San Francisco. During my high school years in Berkeley on the San Francisco bay, I was involved in the performing arts and regularly ushered for concerts at the Berkeley Community Theatre. Alongside the regular rock and classical concerts were performances by Indian classical performers. One of the most memorable moments of my teenage years was a concert by sarod master Ali Akbar Khan with Mahapurush Mishra accompanying on tabla. This one event moved my understanding of Indian music from the rock and roll orientation of George Harrison to a deep appreciation of the classical tradition and love of the genre.

Over the years I have had the opportunity to live, work and study in this tradition, in the USA, India and New Zealand. The Ali Akbar College of Music and its associated community deepened my understanding of the music and flavoured my approach to my research interests. I am not a professional musician but have a deep love of music and enjoy performing.

I have worked as an event producer across various industry sectors. I have a strong preference for the performing arts sector and currently teach in a university department that specialises in event management and tourism. I have lived amongst a community of Indian musicians for most of my adult life. This community has provided me with deep friendships that led to performance and production experience. I have close family friends in California, India and New Zealand of South Asian heritage. My husband is an ethnomusicologist who publishes on the music and culture of India, as well as an experienced performer of classical Indian music. These circumstances, by which my

family arrived in New Zealand over 21 years ago, opened up opportunities to work with touring musicians, students at the University of Auckland, and local Indian musicians as a friend, producer and performer. I would be remiss if I did not acknowledge that all of these factors inform this research and writing.

Data Collection

Primary data was collected by conducting 12 formal in-depth interviews, as well as ongoing discussions with those interviewed and other members of the local Auckland community involved in Indian community arts production. The interviews were open-ended and with key participants involved in ongoing conversations to verify information. Rather than answering set questions, participants were asked to describe and explain cultural production events that they have been involved with, to explain the nature of their involvement, and to reflect on the wider cultural meaning event production in the context of the New Zealand Indian diaspora. The informants included producers, event coordinators, and volunteers from community associations, government agencies and commercial event companies. What they had in common was their involvement with the production of cultural events with specific reference to and/or produced by Auckland's Indian communities.

For this research, participant observation was possible through immersion in various production roles as event support, advisor and as volunteer coordinator, and as audience member across many event platforms. The decision was made to maintain the anonymity of the participants interviewed for this research unless they occupied positions in government or government funded agencies. In all other cases, participants are referred to as initials. This maintained a degree of anonymity for individuals working in a small and inter-connected community in which relationships depend on a culturally specific range of social behavioural norms. This level of anonymity will enable the researcher to maintain relationships into the future and with individuals who in some cases do not maintain close relationships with each other. Confidentiality was respected unless the participants choose to make a public comment. Public statements in the press and/or other event stakeholders verified many of the stories in this research. As those of Indian heritage are of diverse cultures, national identity and religions, the interview questions were not biased towards one cultural focus.

The discussion and analysis of the research findings is structured around the four overarching themes that were identified as salient. Based on an inductive analysis of the findings in the case studies, four themes have been identified: identity, community, feasibility and power. Each of these themes is analysed in depth following a discussion of the process of data analysis. Each theme is addressed in its own chapter. The data was verified through the analysis of an 18-month snapshot of event statistics collected from local Indian media networks. This combination of methods allowed interview findings and statistical data to be compared.

Events were chosen to describe and compare producers over a historical period beginning in 1995 to 2012. In 1994, the National-Party-led government, under the direction of Prime Minister Jim Bolger, began shifting the New Zealand government's business development focus towards Asia. By 1995, events representing Asian cultures began to be more publically visible through government financial and promotional support. The change in government policy had an impact on the cultural representation of the Indian communities in Auckland and on event production practices in Auckland.

Secondary data was collected to support the findings. They included government documents comprising quantitative statistical information, qualitative data from ephemera, media, and literature focussing on media promotion and government policy documents. The data has been analysed with simple Microsoft software programmes, Publisher and Excel. By combining results of the data collected, the analytical research method can be referred to as 'grounded theory' constructed from inductive qualitative data. Grounded theory is a method that allows for data collection and analysis to inform each other in an iterative process as the researcher successively makes the emerging ideas more abstract. Theory is built from immersion in the field (Botterill & Platenkamp, 2012, p. 109). Further analysis was applied through a representational project management mapping tool designed for this study in order to enhance qualitative and quantitative analysis.

Conceptual Model

The analytical methods used in the case studies in this thesis are portrayed using a graphic mind-mapping method (Eppler & Burkhard, 2007; Hay, Kinchin, & Lygo-Baker, 2008) that represents the dynamics of event production as well as generating quantitative data. This graphic method examines the following factors: The identity and motivations of the producers, the nature of the resources required for the production, and the nature of the relationships between the producer and those resources.

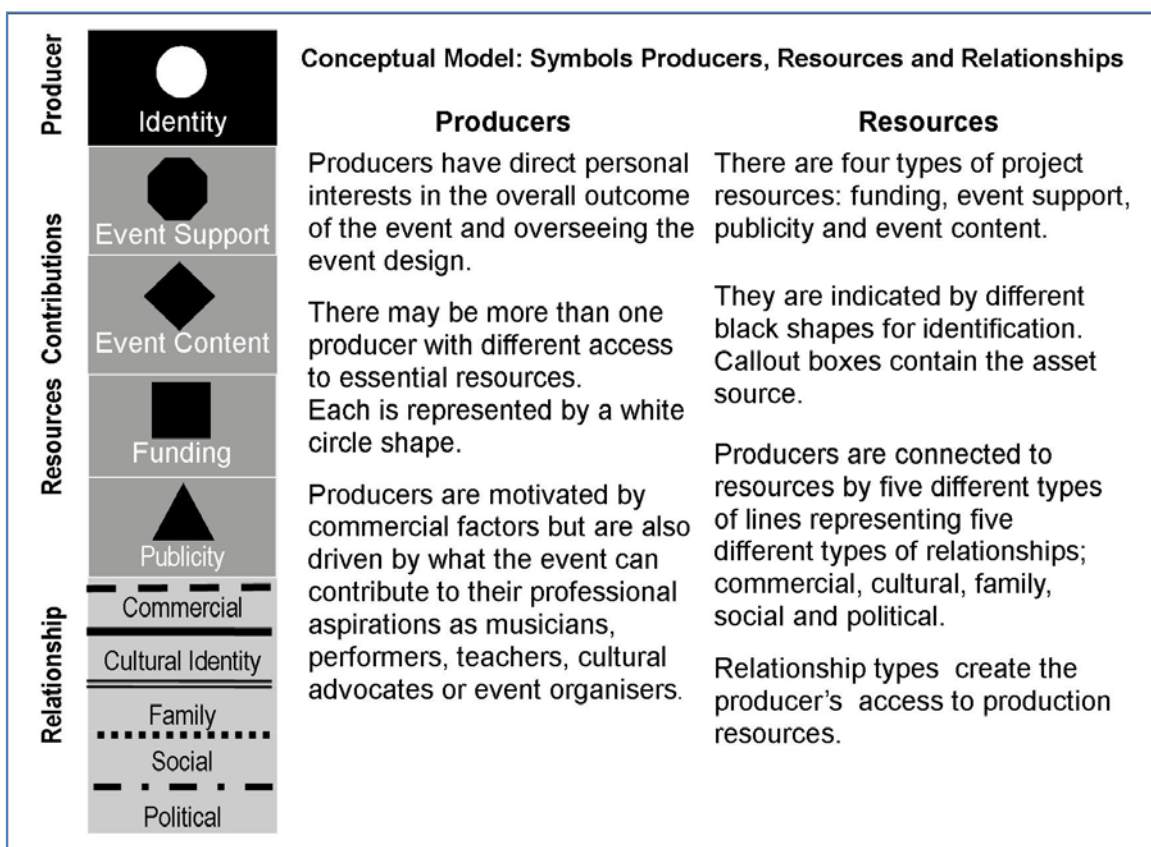


Figure 5. The Conceptual Model Symbols Identify the Three Essential Event Elements that are activated in the Event Production Process

The details in Figure 5 set out the parameters of these factors as they have been conceptualised and analysed throughout this study. The following discussion discusses the different types of producers, relationships and access to resources, followed by the application of the methods to a theoretical model.

Producers

Producers have direct personal interests in the overall outcome of the event and in overseeing the way the event is designed and delivered. Producers are represented by a white circle in the centre of the project map. Producers are identified by a letter (“A”, “B”, “C”, etc.) as well as by their primary professional motivation for being involved in the event. In each case study the primary producer is identified as “A”; in the case of co-produced events, the co-producers are identified using “B” and “C” as necessary. Unless noted in the text, the use of the same letter does not indicate the same individual from case study to case study. When a specific producer is involved in more than one case study this is made clear in the text.

Producers are motivated by commercial factors as well by other factors, such as professional aspirations, friendships, family obligations, social reciprocity or political connections. The producer may be a performer, teacher, cultural advocate or event organiser and sometimes will play multiple roles: for example, the event producer may simultaneously be the main performer as well as the event organiser, or any of the many other possible combinations. There may be more than one producer in a single event, which adds power to the event through the sharing of resources and relationships contributed by each co-producer/s.

Resources

Resources are all the elements that make the event possible. Project resources are identified by four different black shapes: a hexagon for event support, a diamond for event content, a square for funding and a triangle for publicity. Information regarding the identification of the resources inside the resource shape is detailed in white callout boxes connected to the shapes. In this way it is easy to identify the producer's relationship to different types of resources. Similar resource types are placed, whenever possible, in the same area of the project map for easy identification of information. The four general categories have the potential to contribute a variety of assets, as indicated in Figure 6.





Resource Contributions	
 Event Support	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Professional assistance and technical expertise for event design, marketing, logistics, risks and financial management • Production management including venue, facilities, ticketing, technicians, front of house, administration and public relations • Community networks, volunteers and paid workers • Tangible and intangible
 Event Content	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Local region (friends or family) and/or overseas performers • Performer authenticity • Musicians participating from local region may be contracted, friend or family • Musicians participating in event not living in New Zealand may be visiting friends and relatives or contracted • Mumbai film industry: source of musicians, technical and musical support • Intellectual property
 Funding	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sponsors' contributions and partnerships: cash or in kind • Access to government arts funding support • Revenue generation • Financial outcomes
 Publicity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Marketing the event • Local, overseas community networks and online communities • Bollywood fan clubs and cultural society affiliations • Promotional design, distribution and IT resources • Media response, advertising budgets and sponsorship relationships • Event validation outcomes

Figure 6. Resource Contributions Accessed by Producers: The essential elements required in and the event production process (Event Support, Event Content, Funding and Publicity)

All events require access to specific event support resources including the support of professional assistance and technical expertise, whether supplied through the producer, family, volunteers or paid staff. Event support includes venue management, marketing, sound and lighting, stage design, ticketing and all of the logistics required to make the event happen on the day. The way in which event support is designed and delivered is dependent on the type of event, the budget, who is performing, the event content, and how the event is marketed (the plan to attract an audience). Event support involves a series of networks that ideally includes skilled individuals with access to resources and relationships that the producer knows and trusts.

The access the producer has to performers, whether local or overseas, affects the event content and the audience's event experience. The community perception of the performer's reputation will affect the success of the event promotion and, in the end, the financial viability of the event. Local musicians involved in the performance may be contracted (friends or family). Overseas performers may be visiting friends and relatives or contracted involving visas and agents. If the source of musicians is from overseas, the power of the Bollywood brand may make the event attractive to a large audience, but it

also may add significant financial risk for the event producer. Large Bollywood shows require expensive venues, technical equipment and expertise, advertising, with the addition of artists' fees, visas, airfares, accommodation and hospitality, for up to 25 overseas performers.

To mitigate financial risks, producers try to attract sponsorship from within or beyond the Indian community or funding for the arts through government organisations. Government community arts funds are generally not available for commercial events, although may be accessed for some types of community-produced events and festivals. Producers build power by acquiring ongoing sponsorship relationships that contribute to event support – such as ticketing, printing, venue discounts, technicians, and media partners – contributing cash, but more often resources in kind.

Successful marketing of the event is affected by the ability to get the attention of the media. The challenge is to attract a target market willing to view the event as having value and worth purchasing a ticket and spending the time to attend. The ability to attract an audience validates the success of an event. Promotional materials and the way in which they are designed, as well as access to Internet technology and the online communities, are important assets for producers of events without advertising budgets. Community networks and media support within the local Indian press are important assets for attracting audience and ticket sales.

Relationships

One of the central features of this project map is the identification of the relationships that unite producers with critical event resources. Relationships are interests shared by the producer and other individuals who have direct access to resources. The value of this model is that the project map graphically represents the networks that connect producers and resources, allowing projects to proceed. Producers who have existing relationships may have a strategic advantage over those who require the establishment of new relationships. Producers with established reputations may have the ability to amass powerful networks. These mutual concerns may connect individuals, but also the people in organisations, institutions or businesses that control access to the necessary project elements.

Individuals or resources with whom a producer has a specific relationship inevitably have other relationships with still other individuals who may in some indirect way constitute resources needed to successfully produce the event. This means that almost

all the producers in this study will have had a range of indirect relationships with a variety of resources. For example, a producer may promote his concert through his Facebook site or distribute posters to friends to place in store windows. The networks and relationships are beyond the producer's control as the initial event publicity campaign, in the real and virtual worlds, moves out beyond the direct relationship realm over which the producer will have control.

One main concern in this study, however, is with direct relationships between producers and resources, as these are the relationships that the producers try to establish and/or maintain in order to produce their events. The diagrams in this study only show indirect relationships when they are critical to the event viability; in other instances they are only mentioned when their value is especially significant. Significant value is determined by access to critical resources such as funding, performers and government bodies that are not negotiable for the viability of the event. The producers can get into difficulty relying on indirect relationships to overseas performers and related funding when relationships are severed or become ambiguous.

Relationships		
Commercial	Broken black lines indicate economic relationships, for example performance contracts, sponsorship arrangements or government funding. They may be direct or indirect.	— — — —
Cultural	Solid black lines indicate shared cultural identity.	————
Family	Double black lines indicate family members.	=====
Social	Dotted black lines indicate social reciprocity.
Political	Broken lines with dots indicate relationships based on common goals.	- . - . -

Figure 7. Producer Relationship Types in which Producers access Production Resources

Commercial relationships are dependent on a financial exchange to access a resource. Cultural relationships involve people of the same cultural affiliations accessing

resources through the power of their ‘sameness’. Family relationships are limited to members of the producer’s immediate and extended family. Social relationships are based on individual friendships as well as members of cultural associations who are involved in the event for communal interests. Political relationships are based on gaining power and leveraging in order to achieve common goals.

In constructing these project maps, the relationship lines of the same type are placed next to each other whenever possible. This highlights clusters of similar relationships when these exist. Relationship clusters form patterns that help make clear the nature of interconnected project relationships between the producer and resources.

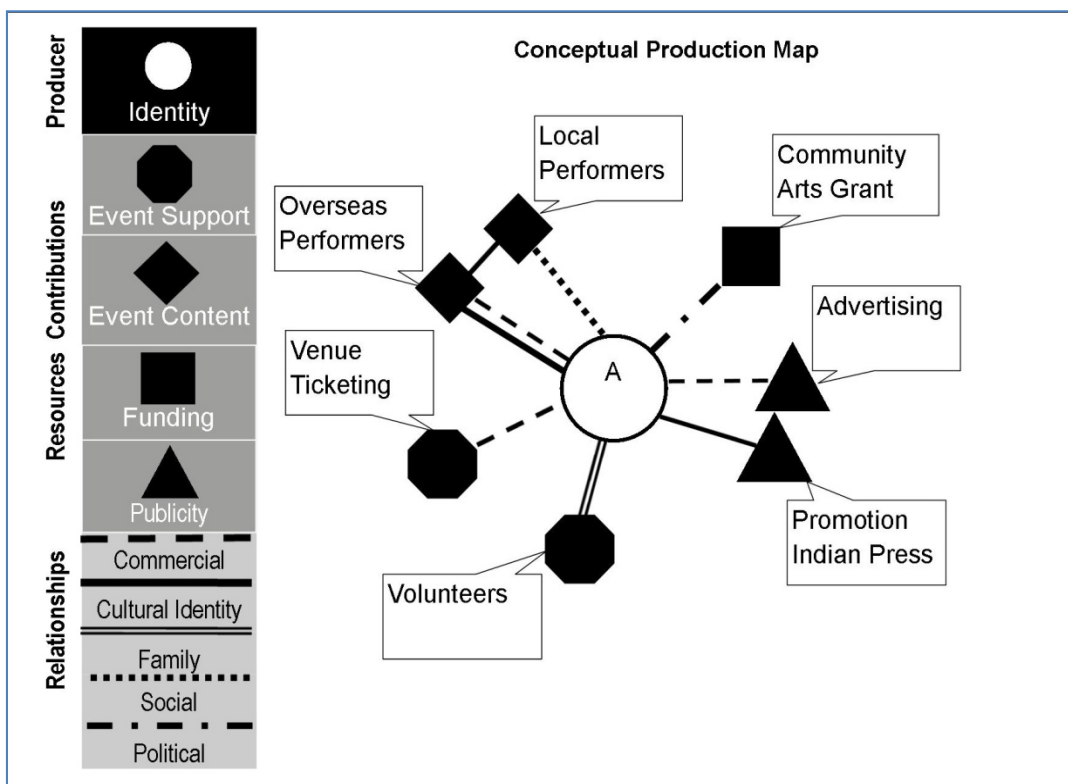


Figure 8. Conceptual Production Map Demonstrating Relationships to Resources

Figure 8 illustrates a generic event in which a producer has gained access to community arts funding to bring overseas artists to Auckland to perform with local performers. “A” is placed in the middle of the white circle and thus identified as the producer. The overseas artists, the local performers and the producer share a common cultural identity. Cultural identity may be shared through many factors, including cultural heritage, religion, regional identity, gender, family, musical heritage, education, ethnicity, linguistic, diaspora or national affiliation.

The producer has secured essential event support through a commercial relationship with the venue, technical support, and a ticket outlet. The relationship to media is through cultural identity and the producer has secured interviews for the artists on the local Indian radio and community TV station. “A” has paid for advertising in the local Indian newspaper but in return has received an editorial about the upcoming concert. The local performers to accompany the international artists are friends of the producer and are performing for free for the experience. “A” has charitable trust status, giving him access to community funding for his event. The reputation of “A” and the charitable trust, represent a source of power. This power authorises “A” to successfully bid for funds not available to those competing without the level of respect within the Indian community, as well as, government departments. The overseas and local performers share a cultural identity relationship as they have the same linguistic and regional affiliation and share a performance tradition. Indirect relationships can play a key role in some production networks as they can bring in powerful resources not directly available to the producer, whether it is funding, shared musical traditions, as in this case, or access to performers or other resources critical to the success of the event. The cultural identity relationships in this model are strong, as the performers and the producer share the same cultural affiliations. “A” has a social relationship with the local performer and a commercial relationship with the overseas performers.

This example represents a generic production network map typical of many scenarios for similar types of events. In this case, there is a balanced network of relationships that allow the producer uses to access resources. In some cases, the producer is unable to successful establish the required relationships forming an imbalanced network and a potentially high risk event. These relationships change for different events depending on the producer’s identity, the relationships that can be accessed and the resources acquired. The producer may have received sponsorship directly through funding by a local business or may have benefited from funding received though a political government organisation relationship, for example, funding accessed by the Asia New Zealand Foundation (Asia: NZ) from the Indian Centre for Cultural Relations in New Delhi (ICCR).

The relationship through Asia: NZ opens up access to the international artists. That relationship may not be available to the producer as an individual, but their cultural identity may allow access to these indirect resources. Not all events utilise all resources

and relationships. Some events access more than one type of relationship to gain access to a type of resource. This model is evident throughout the case studies in Chapters 2-5.

18-Month Event Snapshot

A media report was created to record events reported in the Indian media during the data collection period of this research. The events recorded were produced within the 18-month period of January 2011 to July 2012. Religious events organised specifically for religious worship in Hindu temples, Islamic mosques and Sikh gurdwaras have not been included in this data. Success in religious events is divine worship. This definition of success falls outside the scope of this study. The data is limited to public events advertised in the local Indian press and produced in Auckland. The information collected creates a framework that provides quantitative information. These findings have been used as a platform to build the larger stories and deep descriptions in the following chapters. The findings from this data are referred to as from the ‘snapshot’.

Between January 2011 and July 2012, over 60 live performance events involving music, dance and theatre were produced and publicly advertised in Auckland. Some events filled large arenas featuring overseas performers, while others were smaller community based-events featuring local performers and marketed to specific cultural organisations put on in community halls featuring local performers and marketed to specific cultural organisations. The events represented a wide range of performance genres and producer identities. The snapshot creates data for analysis based on event frequency, genres, producer types, cultural affiliations, venues and event profitability.

This section provides an overview of the findings to introduce the scope of events and event practice. The following chapters apply specific findings to the case studies in order to substantiate them through the quantitative information captured by this data.

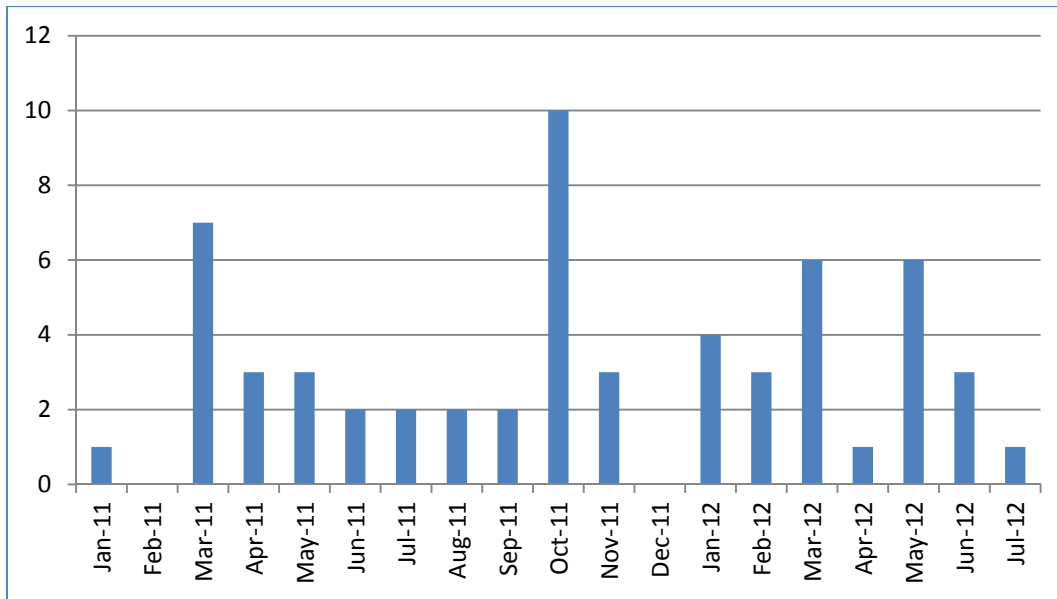


Figure 9. Frequency of Events by Month during the Snapshot

Figure 9 indicates that, in some months during the snapshot, there were more events produced than others. This is influenced by school terms, seasons, and religious festival dates, as well as when touring artists are available. December and January are very slow months for Indian events, as this is the family’s time for summer holidays and the country is focussed on Christmas and New Year’s celebrations and the beach. January is traditionally a month in which it is almost impossible to attract an audience. This was the case with the one event held in January 2011, as well as the events held in January 2012 that included a free concert as part of the Auckland Council summer in the parks season. March and April are popular months for visitors to New Zealand as the weather is beautiful and the schools and universities are all back in session. May is when the weather starts to turn and large indoor events are popular. Easter and the Queen’s Birthday Weekend at the beginning of June are times in which community groups hold events, taking advantage of the long weekends and bank holidays.

The seven events tracked in March 2011 spanned a wide variety of genres. Events produced by the Auckland Council included a free concert in Music in Parks by Sangam, a fusion band, and within Auckland Arts Festival 2011 a classical flute recital by Rajendra Prasanna and The Manganiyar Seduction, and a theatrical Rajasthani music performance. Two commercial events were produced: Sursangam Events presented the legendary Bollywood playback singer Asha Bhosle in a stadium, and CFI events presented New Funky Desi Band in a school auditorium. The New Zealand Carnatic Society presented a

South Indian violin duet by GJR Krishnan and Lalgudi Vijayalakshmi. The Waitakere Indian Association, with assistance from Auckland Council, produced a free Holi celebration.

The six events produced in March 2012 two Holi celebrations; a student-oriented cultural-society- dance party and a festival co-produced by Bhartiya Samaj and HummFM, as well as three commercial ventures: Aariya Entertainment produced Rahat Fateh Ali Khan, a hugely popular Qawwali singer from Pakistan; Sangeet Ltd. produced a classical North Indian recital by Debu Chatterjee from Kolkata; and Aiswarya Entertainments Ltd. produced Taj Mahal, a costume drama. Events that month also included Sudha Rangunathan, a South Indian classical vocalist from Chennai, co-produced by the cultural society Rasikas NZ and the Sangeetha Bharathi Music School.

October 2011 was a month in which important Hindu festivals were celebrated. Six out of ten events tracked in this month were religious celebrations, including three Diwali celebrations supported by Auckland Council and government agencies, Navaratri festivities produced by the local Gujarati cultural associations, and Durga Puja celebrations produced by the local Bengali community. Commercially produced classical music and dance events did not feature, although classical performances were well represented within the Hindu festival celebrations alongside Bollywood performances. It Takes a Village, a community dance school drama, was a ticketed event in the ASB Theatre promoted by Auckland Council as part of Diwali: Festival of Lights. Three commercially produced concerts were presented: Mohit Chauhan, a Bollywood singer, produced by Vishal Ricky, Zakir Hussain and Masters of Percussion, produced by Titan Events; and a Bollywood vocal tribute, Gata Rahe Mera Dil, produced by Sursangam.

Event Performance Genres

Despite Auckland's small population (1.2 million people) and the relatively small size of its Indian communities (80,000 people or 15 percent Auckland's population), the events represent a wide variety of performance genres. For the purpose of this study I have recognised 10 distinct genres: film post-liberalisation, classical, festival, theatre, dance, film pre-liberalisation, hip hop/DJ mix, non-film pre-liberalisation, fusion, and world music. The genres were identified by the distinctions made in the marketing of the events and /or the performers featured in this study. Indian music and performance genres are as flexible as those of any others culture; the genres and forms encountered in Auckland are not significantly different from those encountered in any other Indian community around

the globe. This is due mobile nature of the Indian diaspora and the significance cultural events play in their lives; confirming 'Indianness' and *communitas*.

Film post-liberalisation refers to the songs produced by the Indian film industries after 1996. Classical refers to classical and semi-classical forms of music from Hindustani and Carnatic traditions. Festivals are large public cultural celebrations. Theatre comprises drama productions representing Indian culture. Dance includes classical or modern dance forms representing Indian cultural traditions. Film pre-liberalisation refers to the songs produced by the Indian film industries before 1996. Hip hop/DJ mix refers to club music that involves DJ mixes and remixes. Non-film pre-liberalisation refers to ghazal and other popular music traditions that are not based on songs produced by the film industry. Indians tend to refer to the use of Indian instruments combined in jazz, pop and other western popular genres as 'fusion' rather than 'world music'. In this study, world music is a marketing term that may refer to Indian classical, 'fusion', jazz or almost any non-western music, which producers use to promote by their events to the mainstream western audience.

The North/South division in classical and semi-classical forms is especially prominent in this regard. Generally speaking, members of India's Tamil, Telegu and Malayalam communities tend to support genres understood to be South Indian (Carnatic). These are sung in those languages and tend to be more consistently devotional Hindu. In the same general terms, musical forms sung in Hindi and resulting from the interaction of Indian, Turkish and Persian elements that occurred in the northern half of the sub-continent are categorised as North Indian or Hindustani.³

There are many other distinctions/divisions that are based on the linguistic and regional variations found among the cultures of the Indian subcontinent. Some have historical and political bases, and all have the potential to influence genre production and performance specifically reflected in the film, classical, dance and theatre categories. Others popular genres like hip hop/DJ mix, fusion and world music attract larger audiences from cultural affiliations outside of the Indian communities.

³ For more discussion on these distinctions, see Arnold, A. (2000), *The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music, Vol. 5: South Asia: the Indian Subcontinent* (Abingdon, Oxon, UK: Taylor & Francis).

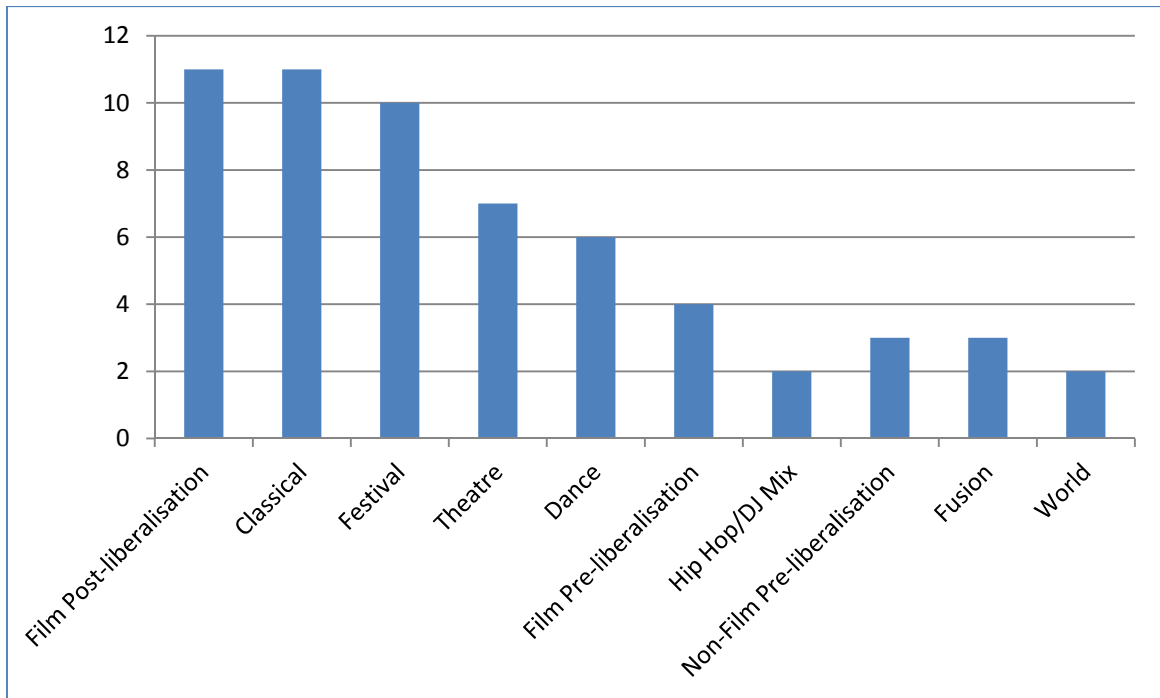


Figure 10. Performance Genres

Figure 10 breaks down the performances over the tracking period by genre category. Film post-liberalisation, classical and festival events were the most prominent in the event market, followed by theatre productions. What needs to be remembered is that in the festival context, the performance types presented are hidden within the festival label. Event publicity focuses on the cultural festival brand rather than individual acts. Cultural festivals rarely advertise individual performances, as they promote the events as festivities to draw the public and typically feature local, amateur performers.

Film Pre-liberalisation, Film Post-liberalisation and Global Identity

Film genres play a dominant role in the content of events captured in this snapshot. The messages of the films are familiar and culturally comforting as Hindi films are located by their traditional content and narrative conventions within an old and deeply rooted set of Indian cultural meanings and values (Gregory David Booth, 1995, p. 20). Prior to the post-liberalisation period, the content and idiom of Bollywood cinema, by and large, reflected, or rather represented, a national consciousness. For diasporic Indians the movie experience was one way of going back, of revisiting, albeit briefly, the homeland that one had left behind (David, 2007). In that sense, watching Hindi movies abroad was a nostalgic trip for generations who had not ever visited India and could experience India vicariously through the films (Mishra, 2002).

Film pre-liberalisation and film post-liberalisation refer to popular music produced in films before and after 1996. Culturally, this is an important historical distinction, as film music before 1996 was the only form of popular music commercially available in India. This was the result of a long period of post-colonial rule (pre-liberalisation), during which India closed itself off from international trade. In July 1991, the Indian government reversed the country's economic development policies (post-liberalisation), opening up India to direct foreign investment in an effort to create more favourable settings for trade, market deregulation and privatisation of national ownerships. The opening of foreign markets impacted cities by generating opportunities for skilled employment and enormous wealth, such as the creation of Bangalore as the information technology hub of India (Guha, 2007).

By 1996, the reforms had resulted in commercial access to popular music and recordings from outside of India, offering the public access to affordable alternative popular music choices. The influx of new sounds affected the musical and visual content of film production, combining global influences from the wider access to global popular culture. Post-liberalisation Bollywood registered a radical shift in both its form and content reaching out to the widening diaspora and westernising Indians. Films offer stories, songs and languages that appeal to the distinct cultural and language divisions that make up the Indian subcontinent. It is important to remember that the film industry is not just the Hindi language films of Bollywood produced in Mumbai. Additionally films are produced outside of Mumbai in the Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam, Kannada, Bengali, Gujarati, Oriya and Panjabi languages (Gregory David Booth, 2008).

The production and marketing practices for the film industry have shifted. Through global locations, including New Zealand, costume designs, promotional material, or the circulation of Bollywood and other Indian films in various media such as print, TV, Internet or music videos, the very idiom of Indian cinema began to change. The visual culture of post-liberalisation films became more global and cosmopolitan so as to attract Indian audiences living outside of India, be it in Europe, Africa, the USA or the Pacific (David, 2007; Dwyer & Patel, 2002; Mishra, 2002). The majority of live performance events from this study have been identified as based on a film repertoire. Other genres are represented, but it is the film repertoire that has the potential to generate the largest audiences and the most money, and build the confidence and reputation of the producers.

Event Producers

The role and position producers hold in the community affects how events are represented within and beyond the specific cultural community. Some producers work independently and others in teams. The teams may include business partners, government agencies and/or skilled event managers. New, emerging producers vie for position when securing venues, technical support, media attention and sponsorship. Unless new producers arrive in Auckland with strong external partnerships, event experience and understanding of the local market, they have a very hard time competing. Power play exists between those positioned in dominant production networks and those looking for a niche. What is not always easy for newcomers is the extent to which the producers, suppliers and sponsors are tightly knitted together within specific community networks. The ability to create partnerships is the key to successful production alliances, networks and sustainability.

In order to analyse and discuss who produced what kinds of events, four main producer categories create the focus of the case studies in Chapters 2-5. Over half of the events tracked were produced by individuals or partnerships working as entrepreneurs, independent from the resource support of cultural schools, cultural societies and/or government agencies.

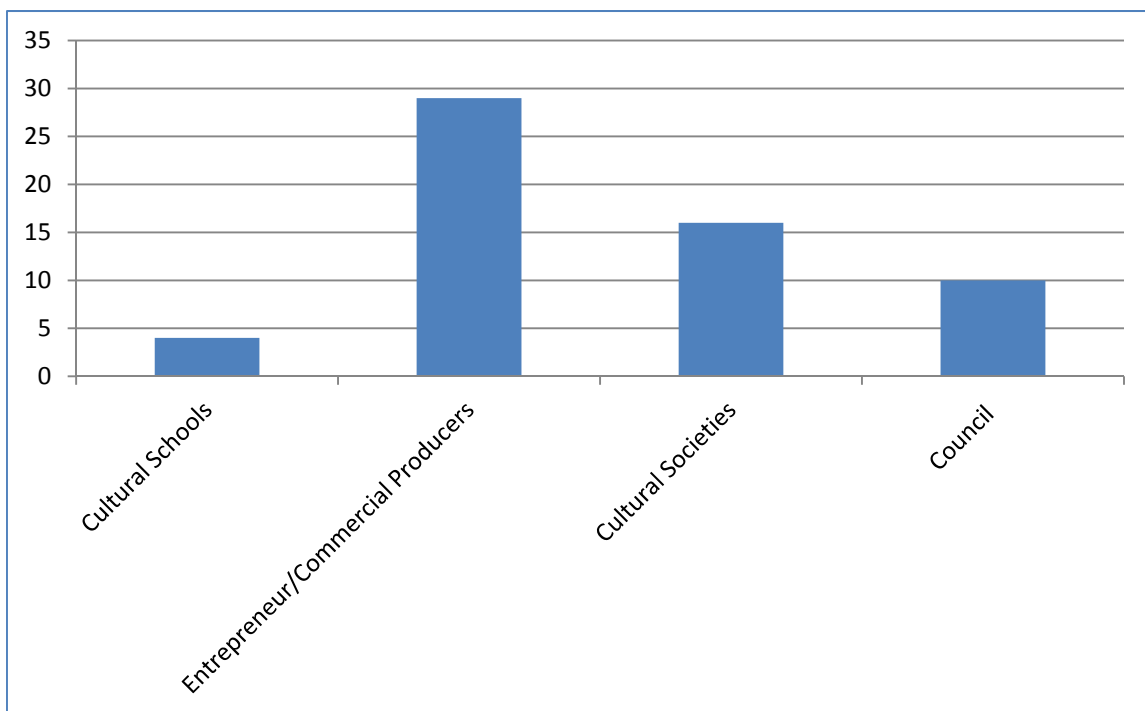


Figure 11. Four Categories of Producer Identity

Figure 11 identifies four categories of producers. Cultural school are music and dance practitioners who have formed local schools in order to make a living by teaching to members of the local community. Entrepreneurs produce events in a competitive marketplace for the purpose of seeking a profit. Cultural societies are organisations that promote specific cultural identities and languages. Council refers to local city events that are produced by event teams within the local government. Within this category are community-government partnerships that are developed to fund large free events, in this case, especially festivals.

The producer's motivation to be involved in the event process can vary, including religious, family, community identity, academic, profit, business development, self-promotion and political goals. The economic viability of the event is not always transparent, as some events are ticketed at full price while others have subsidised ticket prices or are free. Indeed, notions of success may vary widely across different producers and events. Gerstin (1998) asserts that reputation, the value of networks and the ability to assert authority as success factors that go beyond economics. In this way, critical to the assessment of what are successful events are factors that go beyond economic factors, such as profit and meeting budget goals. Established relationships add significant value to the building of networks and alliances that determine success and failure.

All of the events in this study involved some sort of sponsorship that was negotiated by the producer. In the case of free events, the ability for the event to cover the production costs through sponsorship, grants, taxpayers, cultural association fees, religious contributions and/or private donors will be required. Without such subsidies the events are not economically sustainable, and thus rarely get produced as live events.

Audience Cultural Affiliation, Target Markets and Producer Identity

Who chooses to attend an event is determined by the way in which the event producer reaches the target market. The cultural specificity of the target market is determined by the purpose of the event and how the producer's concept is placed in the larger context of the competitive marketplace. The venue, timing and ticketing decisions affect the way in which events are promoted and the event's feasibility.

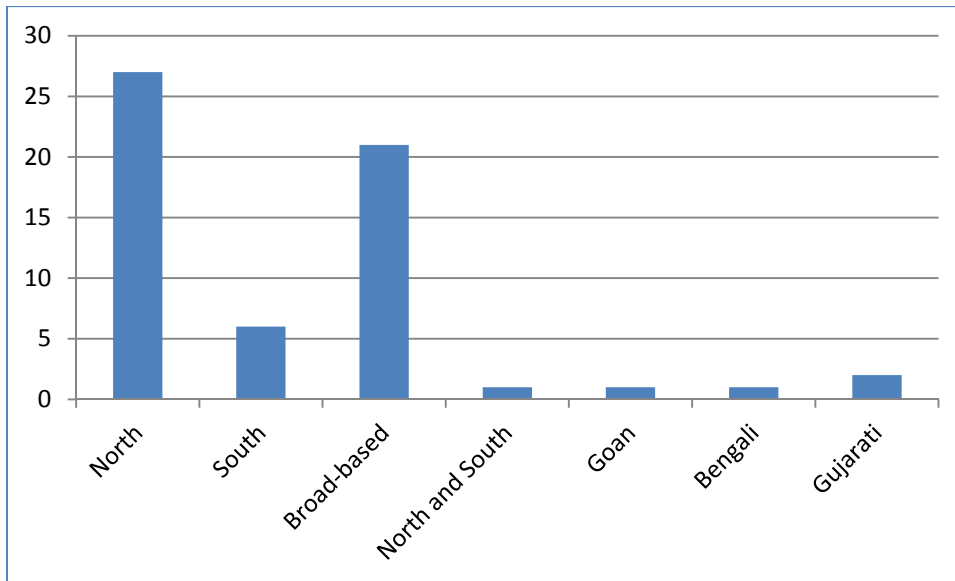


Figure 12. Cultural Affiliation Target Markets

Figure 12 compares cultural affiliations and the number of events produced. The majority of events fall into the ‘North’ category, aiming to attract audiences with North Indian cultural affiliations. Closely following behind is the ‘Broad-based’ category representing events in which the producer is seeking an audience without a specific cultural affiliation. Generally, this category includes cultural festivals and world music events that seek to attract audiences outside of the specific cultural affiliation being represented. ‘North and South’ refers to events that feature classical duets that seek opportunities to attract a larger audience by appealing to both North and South Indian communities specifically interested in classical culture. ‘South’ refers to events that intend to attract audiences that are culturally specific to the languages and regions of South India (Tamil, Malayalam and Telegu). Some events are language-based, such as theatre or vocal concerts presented in specific languages such as Bengali, Tamil, Urdu or Gujarati.

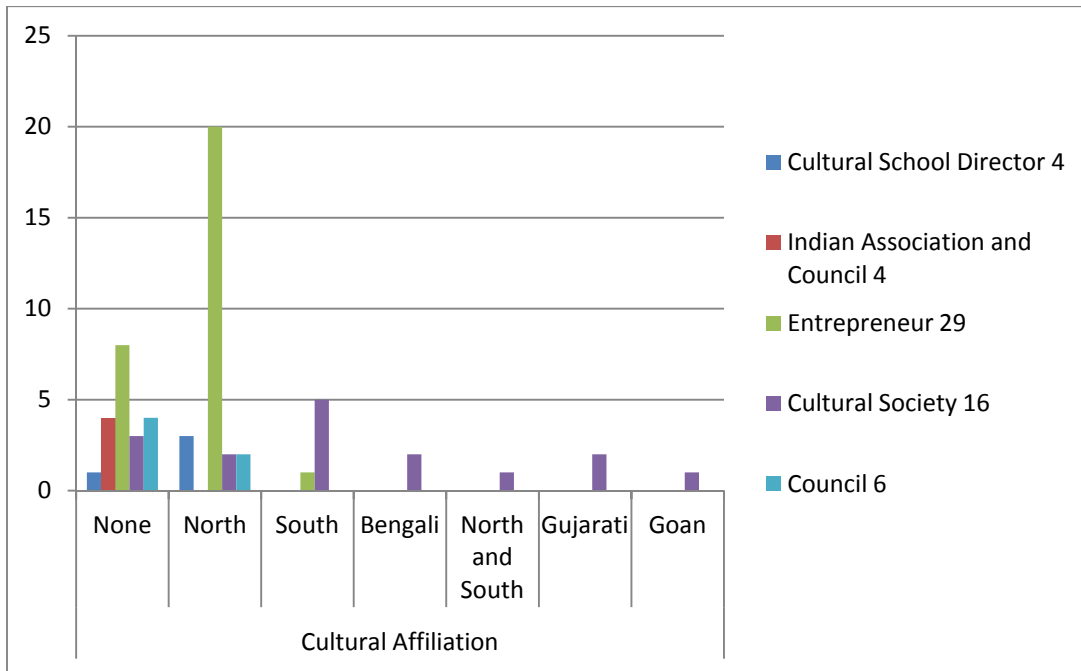


Figure 13. Cultural Affiliations and Producer Identity

Figure 13 compares producer types with the number of events targeting specific types of culturally affiliated audiences. Events targeted at specific language groups include cultural signifiers that promote and encourage regional identity. Some events target a generic market across cultures, as in the case of council festivals or some popular and world music events. The majority of events featuring South Indian music and dance were produced by various cultural societies. They featured performances of classical music and dance, and to a lesser extent music and dance from the South Indian film industry. Councils produce large, free cultural festivals and events within ticketed arts festivals, benefiting from access to government funding and subsidies. They create opportunities for cross-cultural community encounters and business development, including cultural tourism.

Opportunities arise for the promotion of cultural societies, local amateur performers and local businesses to be showcased to the local Indian communities as well as the wider public. Festivals aim to attract an audience from across the wider communities to encourage multicultural understanding. The directors of cultural schools promote events through their students and their families and, through their cultural affiliations, to a lesser extent outside of this community. Events for this group are a means of attracting more students and can also be an opportunity to showcase their talents and, by performing with overseas musicians to gain reputation and status within the community.

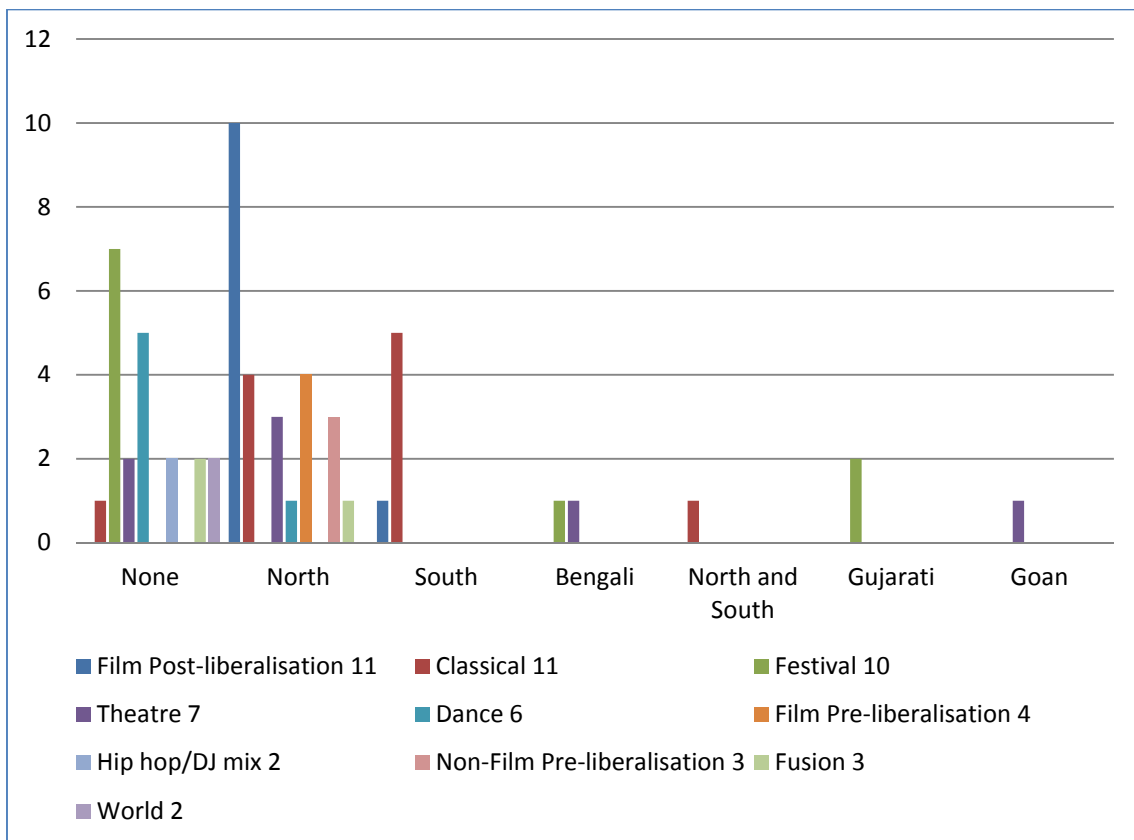


Figure 14. Performance Genre and Audience Cultural Affiliation of Target Markets

Figure 14 compares the seven specific regional target markets and cultural affiliations previously identified with the 10 performance genres. This comparison illustrates which performance genres were produced and which events targeted what kind of audience according to cultural affiliations. The most numerous events were targeted at the north Indian communities, which is not surprising as the largest and oldest Indian communities are culturally affiliated with the North. The table illustrates the dominance of film-based performance targeted to and supported by Indian audiences, and also identifies the strong presence of classical music concerts produced by cultural societies, local cultural schools and entrepreneurs. South India was represented slightly more often than north India in terms of classical concerts, with five compared to four; there was also one concert one concert combining north and South Indian classical traditions. Classical concerts are far more prevalent in the South Indian market due to the strong involvement of cultural societies as producers.

Festivals are strong in the ‘broad-based’ category, as they aim to target large audiences outside of the cultural communities. The dance category includes events

produced by cultural societies as well as entrepreneurs, presenting classical dance forms as well as large Bollywood dance competitions that attract participants and audiences from across Auckland's diverse cultures. Theatre is a growing sector with events being produced in English or in specific regional languages, including Goan, Bengali, and Hindi. Hip hop/DJ mix attracts an audience that is specifically limited and targeted to the culturally broad-based club scene; the transnational nature of this target market is not limited to a specific Indian cultural association. World music events target western audiences, and are also normally attended by limited numbers from the Indian communities.

The majority of producers are entrepreneurs marketing the performers and their well-known songs from the Bollywood film repertoire. The exception was a South Indian concert produced by a local Indian to showcase his visiting father, who plays violin in the South Indian film industry. When comparing genres, months and numbers of event occurrences during the snapshot, it becomes clear that during the 12-month period spanning 2011, 33 events took place. This period included events occurring at least once across each of the 10 performance genre event categories. In the first six months of 2012, not all performance genres had been represented in live performances.

What is important to note is that 23 events were identified as being produced within the six-month period of January-June 2012, as compared to 16 events during the same six months in 2011. This is a significant 40 percent increase in the number of events produced during this six month period in 2012 compared to the same period in the previous year. The majority of the commercial events represented North Indian culture, reinforcing the important role Bollywood plays in the Indian diasporic cultural identity.

March and October were active months for concerts and festivals. This was due to traditional festivals falling in these months (Holi in March and Diwali in October) as well as seasonal factors. March is the end of Summer when the local population is back in Auckland for work, school and tertiary studies. October is Springtime, bringing warmer weather and longer days. This background information and quantitative snapshot data has validated the qualitative methods used in this research. By capturing quantitative data that has been further analysed throughout this research, this information is used to validate the findings, as well as adding quantitative analysis to the qualitative information found in the thick descriptions in the following case studies.

Conclusion

This chapter has provided the theoretical framework and disciplinary concepts that underpin this study. The literature review highlights some of the complexities of Indian cultural identity, performance practices, migration and cultural representations. The case studies capture a snapshot of a specific time period in a specific locality, and create a picture that is static only on these pieces of paper. The production scene in Auckland is forever shifting and morphing as it reflects the complexities of Indian popular culture, migrant communities and desires to share a sense of 'Indianness'. The Indian population is growing, and the new arrivals are younger, more educated and coming from a global India perspective.

This ethnographic study is grounded in postmodern theory and social constructionism. The research recognises that there are many instances diasporic communities may represent alternative communities that transcend borders. Cultural performances create spaces for communities to feel at home and cultural transmission. The conceptual model and snapshot provide a framework for the following chapters.

Chapters 2-5 are divided into the four producer identity categories that emerged from this data: cultural associations, government agencies, entrepreneurs and the new transnational arrivals. Ten performance genres are identified: classical, festival, theatre, film pre-liberalisation, film post-liberalisation, non-film pre-liberalisation, fusion, world, hip hop/DJ mix, and dance. This chapter has established the theoretical underpinnings of the models and has identified the important theoretical concepts found in the literature that frame the major themes found in each of the following case studies in Chapters 2-5 and the discussion and analysis found in Chapter 6. The snapshot findings and analysis provide quantitative data that is also used to validate the findings and identify types of performance genres and producers as well as regional differences in production practice and cultural identity.

Chapter Two: Community Organisations as Producers

Introduction

This chapter introduces the first of a series of case studies that form the cultural analysis part of this research. The chapter focuses on events produced by Indian community organisations. Community organisations have been producing events on behalf of the growing Indian communities in Auckland since the founding of the Pukekohe Indian Association in 1913. The growth and development of community organisations and their production practices reflect the escalation of cultural diversity and specific cultural needs within Auckland's Indian communities. Cultural organisations play a key role producing events and festivals that contribute to specific community expressions of a sense of place and cultural identity.

Cultural organisations tend to produce events by and for themselves. This being the case, their cultural organisation events can be said to be “internally produced” with specific cultural affiliations that confirm specific cultural practices. In this way, their events preserve the culture of their original homelands in the cultural site of their new homes (De Souza, 2011; Turino & Lea, 2004; Vertovec, 1997).

The Indian population of Auckland supports a wide variety of cultural organisations reflecting the diverse and rapidly growing Indian population in Auckland. Most of the community organisations identify with specific regional and linguistic identities and/or religious affiliations (Hindu, Christian, Muslim or Sikh). Some organisations, such as the Auckland Indian Association and Bhartiya Samaj, serve to promote a unified pan-Indian identity.

The events discussed in this chapter demonstrate how community organisation producers offer a diverse range of events that affirm the notion that there is no one type of Indian community organisation or producer, despite there being a commonality. There is a need to join and participate in community organisations on the part of new migrants as well as those from families who have been in Auckland for generations. Cultural organisations create events in which individuals are able to feel they are an ‘insider’ with a sense of belonging in a society of ‘others’. ‘Others’ are always welcome to attend events, although they often feel alienated as the events are organised specifically targeting those who share cultural, religious and/or language identities.

This chapter begins with a description of Auckland's Indian cultural organisations who are engaged in the production of events with live performance content, followed by eight case studies demonstrating a variety of events produced by community organisations and the variety of roles they play in cultural transmission and the creation of platforms for showcasing the wide range of cultural representation within the Indian communities. The case studies provide thick descriptions (Geertz, 1973) in order to engage in a deeper understanding of cultural production practices of community organisations.

The scope of events the community organisations produce is quite vast, offering their members a wide range of activities, including sports, religious and cultural events that reflect how cultural and religious practices play an important role for migrant communities (De Souza, 2011; Ramnarine, 1996; Vertovec, 1997). The content of the community events reflects the religious, cultural and linguistic diversity of the local Indian communities.

Cultural Organisation Event Content Overview

Community organisations engage in events that reflect the cultural identity of the cultural organisation producing the event. Event production, promotion, content and audience composition are targeted specifically to the organisation's membership and cultural identity, and these events are rarely visible in the broader public gaze. Community producers represent grassroots organisations that practice ground-up management. This management process often involves the inclusion of other cultural organisations or organisation members as participants and volunteers who are culturally affiliated with the producer.

Between 2010 and 2013, more than 60 events organised by community organisations, and promoted in the media, took place in Auckland. The snapshot limited to an 18 month period, identifies 25 events that were produced by community schools, cultural groups and cultural associations, across various event genres categorised as follows: nine festivals, nine classical music concerts, one classical dance performance, one dance theatre production and five theatre productions.

The nine festivals included community Holi celebrations produced by three different community organisations; these are analysed in Case Study 8. The different production models are applied to contrast and compare production management and cultural identity representation. The large Gujarati community celebrated Navaratri in

various locations and the Bengalis celebrated Durga Puja.⁴ Both of these are religious events culturally specific to those communities. Of the nine classical concerts, two presented the music of North India and were produced by cultural school directors, six presented music of South Indian performers, and one event was a concert featuring a North-South combination produced by cultural societies, or cultural societies in collaboration with cultural schools.

The one classical dance event was produced by a cultural society who presented a community dance celebration that included several of the local dance schools. The one dance theatre production was presented by a Bollywood dance school. The five theatre productions featured local amateur theatre groups that create plays in English as well as regional languages, quite often including the support of local musicians. Bollywood music and dance as well as devotional music were performed within community festival programmes produced by cultural societies, and are included within the festival category; these include Holi, Navaratri and Durga Puja.

The most visibly active cultural organisations producing events featuring overseas artists are the New Zealand Carnatic Society (NZCMS) and the Migrant Heritage Charitable Trust Incorporated (MigHT-i). NZCMS unifies the classical musical interests of South Indian communities, offering performance opportunities for local performers, to perform with the overseas musicians as well as additional stage opportunities. MigHT-i is a Marathi-language-affiliated cultural society that produces events for local performers including music, dance and theatre. MigHT-i produces community events on a regular basis, providing a platform for classical music, dance and theatre as well as Marathi-language community radio shows. It represents one of the largest Indian-language-speaking communities in Auckland, and produces events in private as well as in community halls. They encourage classical performers from outside of their Marathi linguistic community.

⁴ The Navaratri Festival and Durga Puja, in India, are autumn rituals devoted to the Goddess Durga. Navaratri is a Gujarati nine-day festival dedicated to the worship of nine different forms of the Goddess Durga and features the ritual dance 'garba'. The Bengalis celebrate Durga Puja (prayer ritual) or Durgotsava with the ritual bathing of deities, sweets, and musical performances the victory of Goddess Durga over the evil buffalo demon Mahishasura (epitomising the victory of Good over Evil).



Figure 15. A Classical Dancer Performs Bharatanatyam at SAMAA (Photograph by Alison Booth)

Figure 15 is a photograph of a Bharatanatyam dancer performing at SAMAA, an event produced by MigHT-i in 2011. SAMAA was a community dance school celebration featuring Kathak and Bharatanatyam dance, featuring Auckland's major classical dance schools presenting dances in traditional styles. This was an opportunity for dance teachers and their senior students to showcase their skills to others in the dance community as well as to a wider audience. The event received promotion in the local Indian media. The auditorium was packed with multiple generations of families and friends, making the event very much a social occasion across the schools and communities. The language spoken at the event was English, as Marathi speakers represent only 2.7 percent of the Indian population, and many South Indians were participating. The event, as is normal for this type of community production, ended with a vegetarian supper included in the modest ticket price.

NZCMS is one of the most active cultural societies, and offers a classic example of the many Indian societies that are involved in producing events that promote South Indian classical music globally in cities with large South Indian populations. Over the past couple of decades, this group has produced concerts and workshops of classical South Indian music, vocal and/or instrumental, involving overseas artists and local musicians and their students. They own their own sound system, allowing them to produce adequate concerts

in local school halls. The society members are very active and willing to contribute time and resources when required to ensure the sustainability of their cultural activities and events. The audience tends to be almost exclusively made up of members of Auckland's South Indian community. This production structure is similar to the highly organised South Indian classical music groups in Britain (Farrell et al., 2000). The events are designed to reinforce notions of religious expression and a regional notion of culture and, less importantly, to represent their local or diaspora community with respect to the hegemonic culture. Concerts that feature overseas musicians are linked into 'sister' societies in Australia, creating networks that share costs.

Sangeethotsavam is an annual music festival produced by NZCMS in Auckland. The festival starts on the Saturday of the Queen's Birthday weekend (beginning of June) and finishes on the Monday evening. Over these three days two overseas musicians are showcased alongside local performers. Sangeethotsavam 2012 featured four musicians: two vocal artists, OS Arun and Gayathri Venkataraghavan, who performed individually and were touring Australasia with shared accompanists, Lalgudi Vijayalakshmi on violin and Mannargudi Easwaran on mridangam. The musicians also performed at the Sydney Music Festival the following weekend.

The concert filled the venue and attracted an estimated audience of 95 percent South Indian cultural identity. The NZCMS received sponsorship funding from the newly opened Bank of India New Zealand Ltd. as well as contributions from membership. Members make substantial donations. Entry is free to NZCMS members for all concerts that feature overseas performers as well as performances by students, teachers and community members who support the academy side of the society. The society acts as a classical music academy, with students completing exams that are designed in Chennai and administered globally. The NZCMS plays an important role in creating and maintaining the musical lives of local as well as international performers.

The majority of North Indian communities have large associations representing the families that have been migrating to Auckland over the past 150 years. The North is bound together by the Hindi language as well as broken into the regional linguistic groups of Gujarati and Panjabi. The greatest proportions of the Indian community, or 46 percent, speak Hindi. It is the official language of post-colonial India and is also the language of Bollywood and its associated industries. Gujarati is the second largest linguistic group at 16.5 percent of the population, representing older Gujarati communities that migrated from India or via Fiji.

There are commercial opportunities for producers of North Indian music including events featuring Bollywood stars, international world music acts and classical superstars. Commercial events are profit-driven and are produced by entrepreneurs and their friends and families, requiring little cultural society involvement, or are produced by city council event organisers; these are discussed further in Chapters 4 and 5.

The three large associations: the Auckland Indian Association (AIA founded 1938), the Manukau Indian Association (MIA founded in 1981) and the Waitakere Indian Association (WIA founded in 2000) represent Hindi speakers as well as Gujarati speakers and some of the Panjabi and Indo-Fijian linguistic groups. This cultural composition reflects the majority of community affiliations in the Auckland region. The MIA was established for the purpose of organising social and community gatherings for the few Gujarati and Panjabi families living in South Auckland, including the suburbs of Mangere, Papatoetoe, Otahuhu, Manurewa and Papakura. The MIA celebrates a number of religious holidays, including Navaratri, Holi, Diwali and Indian Independence Day.

Exploring what it means to participate as a member of the Gujarati community, I asked a friend to provide insight into the importance of community celebrations in her life. She described her annual experience celebrating Ganapathi Chaturthi, a 10 day Hindu festival celebrating the birthday of Lord Ganesh, the elephant god who is said to remove life's obstacles. This festival is celebrated throughout India, but is of specific importance to the Gujarati speakers from Maharashtra. In 1896, Ganapathi Chaturthi has become a historical celebration linked to political uprisings against British repression, and the resurgence of Hindu nationalism and Maharashtra patriotism (Tejani, 2008).

The Gujarati community begins the celebrations in their homes, placing Ganesh in an auspicious place, making offerings and visiting each other bearing sweets. The women share in the making and trading of sweets, a process which confirms community ties. This private community event is planned as a day celebration on the Saturday or Sunday that is closest to the beginning of the ten-day Ganapathi Chaturthi festivities that are organised by the local Marathi community. The event is held annually in a community hall that is large enough to hold 200 to 250 families. At the public celebrations, local musicians perform bhajans (religious songs) and the attendees receive prayers and blessings.

We are always visiting in this period with our friends and sharing sweets. In the annual calendar Maharashtra starts by celebrating Ganesh in the same way that Durga is important for Bengalis. Then the Gujarati have Navaratri; then Diwali follows. Navaratri is celebrated in the Balmoral Temple in Henderson and at the Gandhi Centre. Our local community is very good at

sharing and trading. We celebrate everything as we did in Mumbai – Eid Christmas, Diwali, etc. We are celebrating people! (SU, personal communication, 13 September 2011)

The diverse Indian cultural community affiliations support cultural schools and cultural societies that provide performers and performances for their culturally specific celebrations. The performers are also showcased in large celebrations that are produced by larger associations and events produced by government agencies. In this way, cultural organisations build communities and contribute to the fabric of Auckland's multicultural identity as well as reaffirm the notion that there is not one homogeneous India.

For example, the Waitakere Indian Association (WIA), established in 2000, has a strong Indo-Fijian community membership. WIA celebrates the Diwali and Holi festivals as well as events of specific interest to the Indo-Fijian community, such as Girit, a day for remembering and commemorating the sacrifices of Fiji's indentured labourers of Indian heritage. The smaller Bengali community holds an annual Durga Puja that includes music as well as worship and food, and is organised by the Probahar Bengalee Association of New Zealand, incorporated in 1998. Much of the performance content of cultural association events depend on the support from the local music and dance schools.

Some of the societies, for example NZCMS and AIA, include instruction in music and dance as part of their cultural programmes. Others, such as MigHT-i and Muthamil Sangam, rely on talent from the local music and dance schools for the performance content of their event programmes. In this way, events produced by community organisations play an important role in the lives of Auckland's Indian communities. The organisations may be social, or they may be groups specifically focussed on promoting the arts. In all cases, however, they have a number of fundamental characteristics in common.

Community organisations do not expect to make a profit, but usually do expect indirect rewards in the form of cultural prestige, regional representation and/or growth in membership. Most or all of the organisations rely on some form of funding from membership fees, national and/or regional government agencies, local businesses, wealthy patrons and other sources. Cultural organisations offer new migrants a place to go in which to feel a sense of belonging and offer opportunities to share interests in a community in which they seek to belong. They also act as a way to build communities and recognise cultural differences.

Some organisations have been serving this function for generations, representing the older migrant communities and others are newly formed, reflecting new patterns in

migration to Auckland. A common function they all serve is to provide a platform for events that are affordable, culturally meaningful and community-binding. The following case studies demonstrate a variety of ways this is achieved, to lesser and greater extents. They also demonstrate the diversity of events and cultural multiplicity displayed by the active cultural organisations.

Case Studies

The eight case studies discussed in this chapter were chosen to demonstrate the specific variety of events, production practices and ways community organisations engage in representing Indian cultural identities. This first case study sets the stage for the following case studies. A Tamil dance performance is used to demonstrate the cultural complexities of performance content and cultural transmission presented as part of larger cultural society events. The seven case studies that follow it focus on the role cultural organisations play in events productions and are illustrated and discussed by means of production map analysis. The cultural performances and festivals offer a variety of expressions of cultural identity as well as demonstrating cultural organisation production models and collaborations across specific linguistic and regional identities.

Case Study 1: Classical Content in a Tamil Diasporic Dance Performance

This case study focuses on a performance presented at the Muthtamil Sangam tenth anniversary celebrations. The Auckland Tamil Language and Cultural Society is a community group known in Tamil as Muthtamil Sangam. Muthtamil Sangam is a secular non-profit organisation aiming to promote social contact between Tamil speakers, provide a support base for newly arrived Tamil immigrants to Auckland, and also foster and promote Tamil language, literature, values, traditions, culture and art.

The event featured Tamil filmi⁵ dance numbers, speeches, honoured guests (including politicians who broke the language exclusivity), a classical concert and comedian, as well as a vegetarian dinner included in the ticket price. The event featured overseas artists visiting from Chennai; the well-known clarinet player AKC Natarajan was accompanied by senior teachers from the NZCMS and followed by Madhurai Murthi, a stand-up comedian from the India's Sun TV. AKC Natarajan was visiting his daughter, who is a member of Muthtamil Sangam and active in the Tamil community.

⁵ "Filmi" refers to Indian popular music written and performed for Indian cinema.

Classical content in a Tamil dance performance is explored through three flows: the human, primarily with the performers; the language of the performances; and the flow of culture demonstrated through the dance performances. This example illustrates the many ways culture is transmitted, considering the complex flow of content and ideology to provide a deeper cultural understanding of the role of performance in the eyes of the performer and audience. The choice of performance and the expected audience response is taken into consideration by event producers.

Such choices are wrapped in ideology and cultural perceptions of authenticity that will be true for all successful events across all cultures. This is fundamental to the craft of designing and producing successful events (A. Booth, 2010). In this case study, by unpacking a filmi dance performance, classical and popular mediated culture are described in detail to gain an understanding of the dance performance content and its place as part of a cultural society event. This one example provides a deep description demonstrating the complexity of event content, cultural representation and migration stories.

This public performance of Indian dance illustrates the flow of mediated cultural content as a form of cultural representation that moves across multiple pre-mediated and mediated classical, hybrid and commercial traditions highlighting the interplay of locality. By exploring what cultural content flowed from where and from when, this one dance performance demonstrates how performances may be, in fact, part of a larger global cultural and economic phenomenon, denoting the movement of people, media and cultural content. Rockefeller (2011) argues that culture is no longer constrained to one locality and, like Appadurai (1996), describes culture as a phenomenon that is experienced translocally, across the globe.

Globalisation is characterised by increasingly mobile flows of people and encompasses the perception of how the historically rooted notion of diaspora is perceived: internal as well as external to the cultural group. As clarified by Vertovec, diaspora as a 'social form' is characterised by collectively self-identifies ethnic groupings, contexts in which such groups reside and homeland states and contexts where their forebears came (Vertovec, 1997). These flows can increase from factors that contribute to them, such as the advent of technology or media (Appadurai, 1996; Hannerz, 1997; Rockefeller, 2011). Global flows are dynamic, creating passageways in which people, communities and ideas move (Heyman & Campbell, 2009). Vertovec points out that an increasingly key avenue for the flow of cultural phenomenon and transforming diaspora identity is through global media and communication. The following case study expresses this notion

and demonstrates how diasporic youth, whose primary socialisation has taken place with ‘cross-currents of differing cultural fields’ (Vertovec, 2000, p. 154).

The focus of this case study is a Shiva-themed dance duet is used to illustrate how the choreographer, BV, with her student, KU, both young women from the local South Indian community, created a dance to a Tamil film song that was wrapped in multiple dynamic flows that create, reproduce and transform cultural content across historical, geographical as well as cultural boundaries (Hannerz, 1997; Rockefeller, 2011). Although based on Bharatanatyam, the performance appeared to be a hybrid that also included elements from the style that is broadly referred to as Bollywood dance, and included strong Hindu references in the dance, lyrics and stage design.

This performance was presented by the event’s announcer as a “Shiva dance”. It was the final item in a longer section of a still-longer programme that featured young local dancers representing Auckland’s various South Indian dance teachers and community dance schools. The programme content of this section varied from re-enactments of commercial Tamil film scenes, in which young boys with pasted-on moustaches gyrated to Tamil film music, to traditional dance solos in South India’s official dance genre, Bharatanatyam.⁶

O’Shea (2003, 2008) has written on the role of Bharatanatyam and the relationship of the dance with India’s national identity. The Bharatanatyam dance repertoire expresses Hindu religious themes, recounting episodes from pan-Indian mythologies. This dance tradition played an important role in the re-invention of India’s classical performance identity in the 1920s and 1930s, as reformers sought to shift dance and music from their hereditary sites of transmission and performance, Hindu temple complexes, to new institutional sites in performing arts academies, supported by middle- and upper-class South Indians.

Since the 1920s, dance academies have followed the movements of the Indian diaspora, and they have become increasingly popular since the 1960s (Peterson & Soneji, 2008). Students from the diaspora travel to study in Chennai, teachers from Chennai travel the world teaching, and their students, having studied in Chennai or globally, set up dance schools in their new localities. With this process has come innovation and new choreographic work (O’Shea, 2003; Ram, 2011).

⁶ The dance performance can be found on YouTube at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nVTN4N7Fo6g&feature=relmfu>.

BV, the choreographer, is part of this process. Before arriving in Auckland in 2008 to complete a PhD in science, she studied and taught at one of Chennai's oldest and most prestigious dance academies, established in 1939. Along with her studies, she has been trying to find a niche teaching dance in the highly competitive local scene. BV as a new arrival with prestigious training, BV is seen by some as an asset and others as a threat within the established local dance community.

Bharatanatyam is widely practiced throughout global South Indian communities, as recorded by David (2008) in the UK and Ram (2000) in Australia. Currently, Chennai's dance academies are thriving by preparing girls for their arangetrams, which have been re-conceptualised in diasporic understandings as 'graduations' rather than 'debuts'. South Indian dance teachers also travel abroad, teaching young members of the often wealthy South Indian diaspora and marketing online training videos. Many Auckland dance teachers rely on YouTube for instruction or training videos for lesson plans downloaded from the Chennai academies as teaching tools. Daughters of the elite visit Chennai to train for their arangetrams in the academies. Arangetrams have come to provide a way for diasporic parents to define, through their daughters' dance performances, what it means to be Tamil. BV has academy friends in US and Europe who teach dance classes in their new localities.

Some academies focus on teaching classical repertoire, while others include modern repertoires offering filmi dance styles as well as hip hop, tap and other popular dance forms. BV is the first in her family to study dance, and is considered a bit of a rebel. Although formally trained in the classical dance tradition, she is young and loves other forms of dance, including folk, modern, hip hop and belly dancing which she includes these various styles in her teaching and choreography.

This was the first time BV had presented her work in a public performance in Auckland. This was also first time the song "Nada Vinodangal", from the 1983 film *Saagara Sangamam*, had been used in an Auckland public performance (although other renditions can be found on YouTube in other localities). As is commonly done for the trilingual South Indian audience, *Saagara Sangamam*, following its initial Telugu release in 1983, was then dubbed into Tamil and Malayali versions, entitled *Salangai Oli* (1983) and *Sagarasangamam* (1984) respectively. Because the dance performance was choreographed to the Tamil version of the original film song, it is referred to by its Tamil title, "Nada Vinodangal", which translates as the "sound of ankle bells". Although only the Tamil version of the film was available in Auckland, all three versions of the song scene as

well as the films are available online, in full versions and as YouTube clips.

The Tamil version, *Salangai Oli*, complete with English subtitles, was available for purchase at the Tamil language video shop in Mt. Roskill, the heart of Auckland's Indian 'ethnoburbs'. This is not surprising, as Auckland's residents with Tamil Nadu roots are estimated to number around 6,000, that is, over twice the size of those from Andhra Pradesh and Kerala who do not have their own video outlets. BV has a special love for *Salangai Oli*, a film she first saw at the age of eight in Chennai. The dance scenes have played an important role in developing her love of dance. BV re-worked the film choreography and presented the dance as a totally new interpretation of the well-known dance scene. The audience responded favourably to the new choreography with their attention glued to the stage.

The other dancer was KU, who arrived in Auckland from the land of her birth, Botswana, in 2007. KU was studying under an established local Bharatanatyam teacher. Recognising BV's prestigious training and experience, KU's parents requested BV to tutor their daughter in a series of 'authentic' lessons to raise the quality of her upcoming arangetram. KU has completed a successful arangetram and now studies solely with BV. BV clearly understood that what she had taught KU was not classical in the understandings of Chennai's conservative dance standards. However, the content of arangetrams in Auckland is rarely restricted to pure classical Bharatanatyam and almost inevitably includes items based on film choreography, opening the door to BV choosing a song from a film scene. She chose "Nada Vinodangal" as it is popular and one of her favourites.

Shresthova (2008) has argued that dances copied from Indian films and performed by the members of diasporic Indian communities at cultural events have become a "performance of cultural identity" forcing the acknowledgment of the public performance as a form of cultural representation that flows from mediated hybrid traditions into live performances. In this way cultural performance like the "Shiva dance" performed in Auckland is part of a much larger emerging, expressive and inherently hybrid vernacular movement of tradition representing Tamil culture beyond a form of diasporic cultural nostalgia.

Tamil language and literature were the focus of the event at which the "Shiva dance" was performed. Muthtamil Sangam states its mission as the preservation of Tamil language and culture as a mode of social reproduction. Tamil was spoken on stage, all music presented was in Tamil, the performance reflected this theme, and most of the

audience watching the performances were Tamil speakers. Outside the hall the children were not speaking Tamil, but rather English, when playing with their friends or asking their parents for refreshments as English is the dominant language of New Zealand as well as being the common language across the South Asian communities.

“Nada Vinodangal” is a song honouring the joy of dance. The text demonstrates the flow of languages involved in its creation. The song is structured in three parts: a Sanskrit invocation in a poetic form is called a shloka, followed by Tamil lyrics, including a refrain that is repeated before and after the main verses. The shloka, is a salutation to Shiva and Parvati, and is presented as an introductory stanza. A shloka is structured as two lines of poetry, usually of 16 syllables each, and is one of the chief verse forms of Sanskrit literature. Shlokas are common in Hindu religious and classical music and dance practices, most commonly as unmetred invocatory items, but they can also be performed within other musical genres. The use of the shloka form sets the stage for the dance content to be perceived as classical.

This particular shloka comes from the first canto (and opening verse) of the poem *Kumarasambhavam* (The Birth of Kumara) by the fourth-century Sanskrit poet Kalidasa (Kannik, 2008). The predominantly Hindu, Tamil-speaking audience knew that this was Sanskrit and placed this dance scene in a religious context; many would be at least aware of the Sanskrit court literature that features stories, even if they could not identify the specific origin of that particular shloka of Shiva’s anger and love (Doniger, 2009).

Kalidasa’s epic poem is concerned with the events that lead to the marriage of the god Shiva, lord of dance, and his consort Parvati, the daughter of the Himalayas. Shiva is here addressed as Parameshwara. This English translation of the Sanskrit was provided by BV, who was also able to confirm the reliability of the other Tamil song lyrics that were provided as English subtitles in my purchased film. The Sanskrit shloka that sets the scene reads:

To acquire command over the knowledge of speech,
To acquire command over its meaning,
I bow down to Parvati and Parameshwara,
Mother and father of this world
I bow down to Parvati and Parameshwara
Who stay inseparable as speech and its meaning

This shloka contains layers of meaning and cultural references reflected in the choreography as well as in the perceptions of the audience that could be explored further from linguistic or literary perspectives but are beyond the scope of this thesis.

Following the shloka, the pallavi (or refrain) describes how dance will bring great happiness and is repeated three times throughout the verses. In the film, these lyrics are reflected by the couple moving through the forest flirtatiously demonstrating their prowess as dancers. The song concludes with the actors on a mountaintop lookout dancing in the ananda tandava (or joyfully vigorous) style that is evocative of many Shiva/Parvati vignettes.

The succession of languages in this song, from Sanskrit to Tamil, mirrors the flow of Hinduism in South India from the imposed, Vedic elite, represented by a North Indian poem in the foreign Sanskrit language, to the indigenous, popular expressions of Hinduism that developed thereafter. However it is considered, this ancient Kalidasa poem sets the stage for the opening shloka to a popular dance scene in a 1983 Tamil film, and again almost 20 years later on stage at a cultural community event in Auckland. The performers and audience alike recognise the shloka as a sign of the ancient work from which it is drawn, and everything classical that ancient work represents.

Community events provide a space that creates connectivity not just between people but also through a shared cultural experience bringing together a complexity of flows. Indian modernity is a product of local cultures, divided by languages, religions and customs, as well as historical trajectories, bundled together by images, ideologies, and capital (Appadurai & Breckenridge, 1995). The influence of Indian films on classical and folk arts poses an interesting counterpoint to globalisation, as it points to the internal commoditisation of cultural practices that stand separate from world market forces and India's efforts to market its cultural identity abroad through the arts (Pillai, 2002, p. 28).

As previously mentioned, the "Shiva dance" was based on a song-dance scene that appeared in the film *Saagara Sangamam*. As is often the case, the very name and history of the film illustrate the media and cultural flows that are part of this story. This film starred Kamal Haasan as a struggling Bharatanatyam dancer, thus providing the basis for numerous classically flavoured song and dance performances.

Since films are rarely reshot when there are changes of language, the mouth movements in *Salangai Oli* and the Malayali version do not align with the words the audience hears in the sound track. Conveniently, the dance scene is filmed so that the dancers are not clearly seen singing words that are not in sync with their mouths. Known

as a cult classic, *Salangai Oli* received many national awards, including one for music director Ilaiyaraaja, who received the National Film Award for Best Music, and one for Best Feature Film in Telugu at the Filmfare Awards South. One of the film's songs, "Thakida Thathimi", has been the subject of numerous media and blog comment, including a 2010 article in the *Tamil Guardian* that examined the sequence of raga (South Indian form of Raga or melodic composition) in the song and analysed its musical structure (Thaamarai, 2010).

"Nada Vinodangal" was created for Kamal Haasan by renowned Tamil film choreographer S. Raghuram. For this film, Haasan's Bharatanatyam dance style was transformed by Raghuram's Kathakali dance background that emphasises mainly posture and gait, as demonstrated in the dance scene. This style is in strong contrast to the more conventional classical dance style of Jayaprada, his female counterpart, reflecting the duality of Shiva and his consort Parvati. This dance is referred to in the media as a classical performance although, despite beginning in a dance style with classical undertones during the shloka, it moves quickly into a modern dance fusion by the finale, as in BV's "Shiva dance".⁷

In an Auckland diasporic context, the "Shiva dance" therefore represents the confluence of a number of cultural flows, sometimes flowing together and sometimes in parallel streams that engage with classical, popular, mediated and pre-mediated content. More specifically, this dance is the outcome of a complexity of flows from classical literature into classical dance choreographies that have been re-created as dance numbers in film scenes for more than 50 years, and have then created the context for live stage performances throughout the Indian diaspora (Arnold, 1992; Barnouw & Krishnaswamy, 1980). It also implicates the flow of popularised classical content from the cinema back into diasporic performances that are commonly represented, not as filmi, but as either classical or in some cases modern dance styles.

The 'globalised' nature of the performance demonstrates a process of hybridisation that gives rise to the development of *mélange* cultures that span multiple locations and identities (Pieterse, 1994). The "Shiva dance" represents an inherently hybrid vernacular movement of tradition, representing the complex transitional identities of modern Tamil culture. Classical is not a fixed notion, but is in fact rooted in a transfiguration of flows

⁷ To view the dance clip from the film, refer to <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TelDMYRWXOc>.

within and beyond national borders as well as over generations interpreting and reinterpreting cultural experiences.

By unpacking this dance performance, the cultural flows of language, film and migration are highlighted to demonstrate the role of cultural transmission in a community organisation event context. This example established ways performance content plays with the perception of classical culture, popular content and an authentic cultural understanding as experienced by the performers and the audience alike. The performance experience resonates and lies at the heart of South Indian performance identity as well as demonstrates the fluidity of perceptions as to what a classical performance means.

Case Study 2: Cultural Schools and Societies

The next case studies compare different types of events produced by cultural organisations, starting with the role cultural schools play in producing music performance, followed by the diversity of cultural society performance and, finally, three different cultural association festivities of the cultural celebration of Holi.

Over the past seventy years, the teaching of Indian classical music and dance has been a long process of transition from the almost familial oral transmission found in what India calls the *guru-shishya parampara* [master-disciple tradition], to a more institutional and sometimes commercial model (Farrell, 1997). The shift in the cultural transmission of the classical performing arts from court patronage and temple environments into cultural music schools and western academies has placed the role of music teaching into new contexts (Schippers, 2007). Classical music and dance has been kept alive in communities within and beyond the Indian subcontinent through performance and teaching by Indians, Europeans, East Asians, and Africans, as well as many others.

In the case of Auckland, tertiary institutions do not offer practical instruction in Indian music or dance, whereas it often is offered by academic institutions in Europe or the USA. Indian music and dance is not included in the official New Zealand education curriculum. Some Auckland schools choose to participate in citywide Bollywood dance competitions, however. The practice and preparations are organised as extracurricular activities involving members of the community as tutors. The result of this activity is the ability to compete in the annual citywide Bollywood schools dance competition for prizes or within festivals such as the Diwali or Holi celebrations discussed in this thesis.

This has relegated all instruction to private community education and one-off workshops, opening up opportunities for new and established migrants to try their luck as

cultural music and dance school directors. Sometimes they are trained in reputable musical families or have received professional training in institutions, such as Sangit Research Academy in Kolkata, Sangit Natak Akademi in Delhi, and the National Centre for the Performing Arts in Mumbai. Others do not have such reputable backgrounds. Recent migration has brought many aspiring Indian musicians and dancers hoping to make a living through teaching private music and dance classes, usually out of their homes. The teachers range from tertiary-trained artists to housewives picking up information they gain from YouTube.

Auckland is home to individual instructors as well as cultural societies who have created cultural schools teaching Indian classical music traditions from the North and South including voice, violin, veena, tabla and harmonium, classical dance traditions, and popular dance and vocal styles of the Indian cinema. Some Auckland cultural schools and societies provide performers for events that may be required for their own cultural activities, or provide them to the larger communities inside and outside of the specific Indian cultural identity represented.

Seventeen Indian community dance and music schools have been identified in New Zealand; 10 are in Auckland, three in Hamilton and four in Wellington⁸. These schools produce their own performance events as well as contribute to festivals and cultural showcases produced by the larger cultural societies and associations. Of the 10 Indian music and dance schools in Auckland, four are music academies. Three of these are run by individuals, and one by a cultural society. The six other schools specialise in dance offering Bollywood and North as well as South Indian classical forms.

Opportunities are available for some teachers to teach and perform in their local place of worship or within events produced by specific cultural society affiliations located in common language and cultural traditions. The cultural schools' directors are motivated by growing their prestige in the community. In comparison to the teachers themselves, the cultural societies tend to be motivated by a more communal approach to preserving and enhancing their languages, cultures and regional differences.

Classes are generally held on the weekend. The cultural school directors mainly attract students from their cultural and language affiliations, although they will accept students from outside their culture. The music schools are located in the homes of the directors in suburbs that are attractive to the specific cultural and language communities.

⁸ Further information can be found on the Indian diaspora community blog site: <http://indiandiaspora.wikispaces.com/Links>

Some schools align with cultural associations, and others work individually. Cultural schools provide content for their own event productions as well as for larger community events run by cultural societies and associations and within festivals. The snapshot identifies two cultural schools involved in producing classical concerts, one music school producing a fusion concert and one dance school producing its own dance drama. Two music schools collaborated with cultural societies to produce classical concerts, two cultural societies presented events featuring local dance schools, and six cultural association festivals presented dancers and as well as musicians from local cultural schools. Local musicians also performed as part of theatre productions.

Of the nine classical music concerts produced by cultural societies and cultural schools identified in the snapshot, six presented overseas performers from India. These were a mix of professional and amateur musicians. The difference between a professional and amateur musician is that professional musicians earn their livelihood by performing and teaching. Some concerts featured local amateur musicians accompanying overseas performers, and others featured them as opening acts for the main performers. Performing in community concerts helps local musicians market their schools and raise their prestige in the community.

The performers directing music and dance schools rely on attracting their students from families aligned with their regional identities for their livelihood. Power can be accessed by producers who are also local performers, as the producer controls who perform on stage, when, and with whom. Of the nine concerts, only two included overseas performers. These performers arrived with their own musicians and did not require local performers to accompany them on stage to complete their musical ensembles. These concerts were produced by a cultural society teaching classical music within its activities.

Touring musicians are often related through musical traditions to the cultural school producers. The relationship of the producer to the musicians is dependent on accessing resources. The relationship to the musician is significant, as it will affect the producer's motivation. The musician as producer with guru obligations and authority coming into play is quite different to that of a producer who wants the performance opportunity with the musician. This can affect the success of an event and create power plays between cultural school directors and other community groups, as illustrated in the next case study.

Case Study 3: Classical Music School Producers

In January 2012, two Auckland cultural schools presented two separate concerts a week apart featuring the same Kolkata-based sitar player. These events are used to highlight aspects of producer motivations and to illustrate the complexity of risks involved in producing concerts and workshops. Prashanta Bhanja, over the past 15 years, has been regularly invited to New Zealand to give private sitar lessons in his student’s home South of Auckland in Hamilton. The host student contacts other musicians and academics in Auckland to assist by producing concerts and workshops for his teacher during his stay in New Zealand.

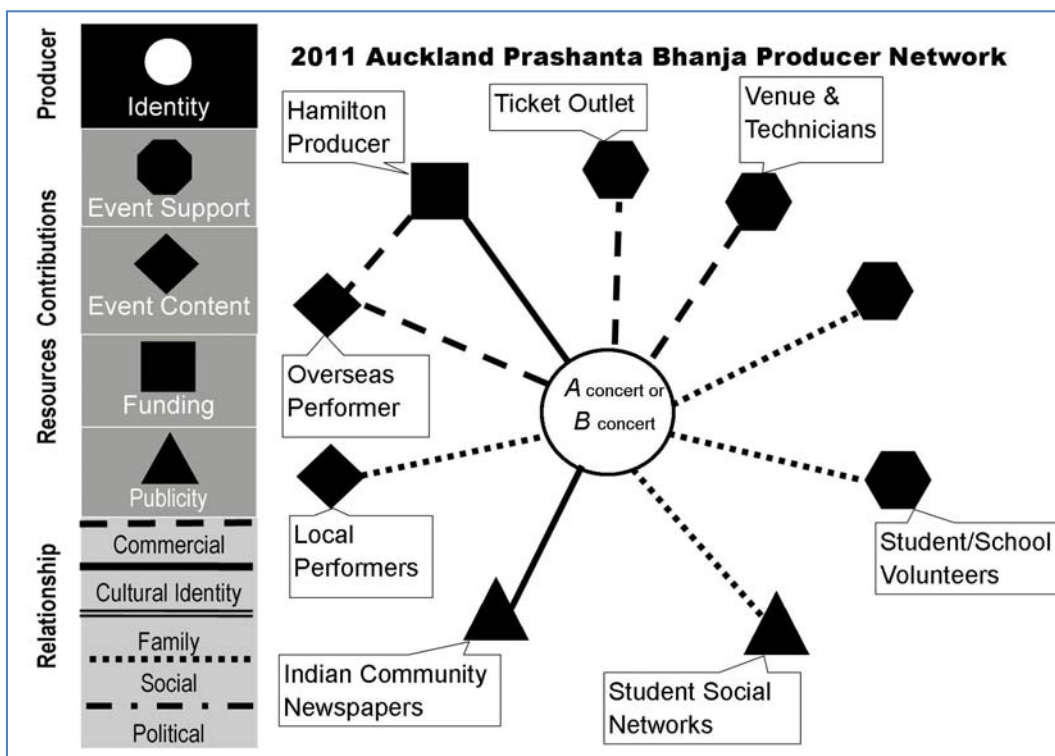


Figure 16. Music Schools in Classical Concert Collaboration – Producer Network Map

Figure 16 identifies the production networks activated to create the tour’s Auckland events. “A” and “B” are placed together in the white producer circle in the centre of the map even though they created their events independently, as they were very similar events requiring the same type of resources accessed through the same relationships. Both producers are musicians that run their own cultural schools in different parts of Auckland. They both required their students and school communities to help as volunteers at the event as well as to publicise the event through social networks. The Auckland performers and the Hamilton student share a cultural identity relationship, as they are all involved in the North

Indian classical music scene. The concerts received some publicity through the Indian community press.

The concerts and workshops on this tour required tabla.⁹ This gave both producers the incentive to produce the events, as both were aspiring tabla players, and performing with the overseas musician provided them with stage opportunities. The concerts and workshops provided opportunities for the producer and students to study and perform with overseas musicians and to promote the concerts through school networks. The Hamilton musician producing the events paid airfares and other major tour expenses for the opportunity to study sitar with his guru. The contributions of these resources are seen as advantageous and beneficial to the Auckland producers.

This example demonstrates how small revenue-generating events, covering the incurred costs by overseas performers, heavily depend on social networks within communities to be economically sustainable. Both schools are directed by Indian-born tabla players who know the producer in Hamilton. The school run by “A” is located in South Auckland and run by a classically trained husband-and-wife team who are Sikhs who migrated to Auckland in 2006. “B’s” school is run by a Hindu tabla player living in West Auckland who migrated to Auckland in 2001. Both schools regularly produce events to maintain the positions of their directors as teachers as well as performers in the community. There is a bit of rivalry between the two tabla players as they compete as teachers and performers in the small Auckland market.

The concerts and workshops were not a success due to a variety of critical factors: timing, competing events, and the overseas performer having no following in Auckland. For “A” and “B” performing tabla with an overseas classical musician confirms their common North Indian classical music traditions, and they were further motivated by the chance to share musical knowledge with their students. Both producers failed to attract an audience to their concerts. One producer expressed his frustration at the disappointing outcome and regretted having got involved in the first place. The overseas artist has not built a reputation in Auckland despite having toured New Zealand repeatedly over the past ten years.

In 2003, the same musician was able to experience a more successful tour, as his student was able to access the funding required to underwrite the expenses and the tour

⁹ Tablas are a set of drums used as accompaniment for North Indian classical music.

was linked into academic institutions. This was during a period of time when government funds were available to assist with tours for musicians specifically from Asia, and academics associated with schools of music were able, through political relationships, to access funding resources through Creative New Zealand and Asia: NZ. These relationships involve the role of government agencies as producers and are further discussed in Chapter 3.

Case Study 4: Cultural School Fusion Performance

In 2012, “A” who had also produced the Prashanta Bhanja concert (Case Study 3), produced a more successful concert, Unison/Samvaad, involving overseas musicians. This case study demonstrates the production relationships accessed when a student invites his overseas teacher and involves his cultural school in the role of event support. The event was held in May, at the beginning of winter and a popular time for events. Another critical factor, as in the previous case study, was that the overseas performer and the cultural school director were friends, the performer was aligned culturally with the school, and the director and musician shared a musical lineage.

Successful concerts are beneficial to the teachers as well as to their schools on multiple levels, as there is potential to leverage the school’s prestige in the local community as well as to benefit from any profits. In this case, the students participated in workshops with the overseas musician and were given the chance to demonstrate their newfound knowledge on stage before the music school director and his wife finished the recital accompanying the overseas artist.

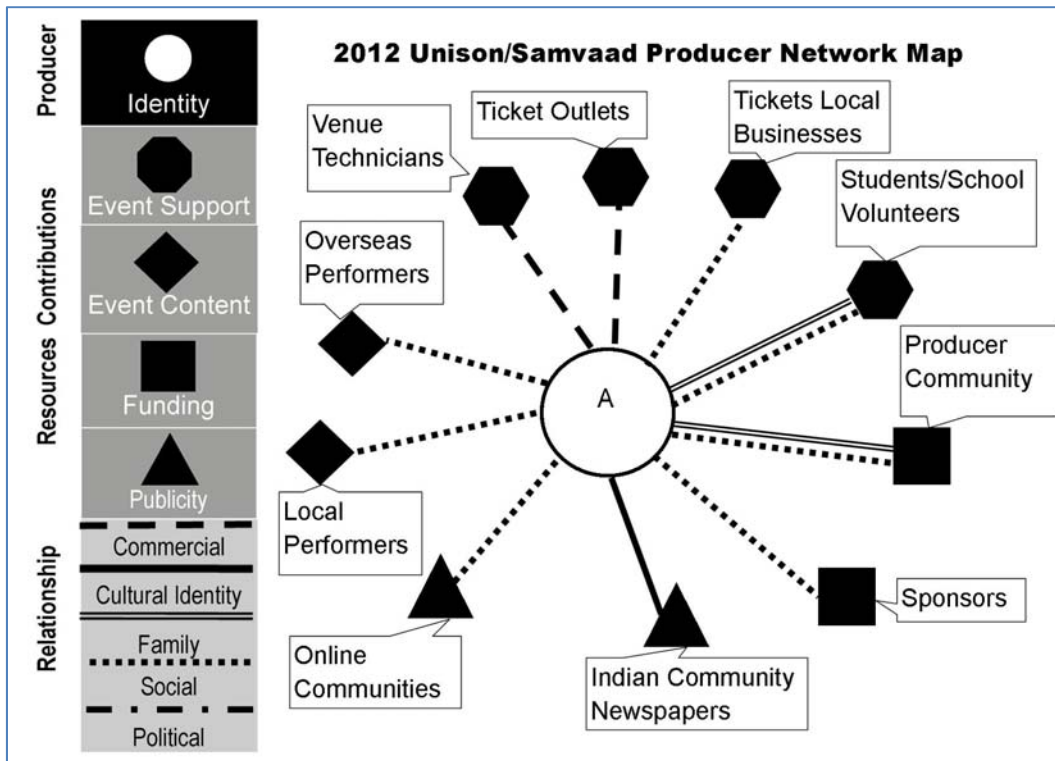


Figure 17. Music School Director Classical/Fusion Collaboration

Figure 17 identifies “A” as the producer in the white circle in the middle of the map. “A” is the Panjabi Sikh tabla player and cultural school director discussed as “A” in the previous Case Study 3. His wife is also involved in the school, holding a Master’s degree in classical music from India and teaching vocal music in the school. “A” does not have to establish relationships outside of his school’s ‘white circle’ to call on her expertise. His wife adds to his resources through the highly developed musical performance and teaching skills that she contributes to the family cultural school.

Figure 17 is dominated by “A’s” social relationships; 7 of the 12 relationships in this network map are social. These relationships provide access to local and overseas performers, event content, funding and event support. “A’s” social relationship with the overseas musicians could be considered, in an Indian sense, as “family” as they share gurus, being from the same musical lineage. The overseas musicians are Sikh Panjabis who contribute musical training for the children through workshops. They also perform kirtans (devotional songs to God in the classical mode with tabla accompaniment), which are central to worship at “A’s” local Sikh temple.

“A” is based in Manurewa, a popular area for Indian migration, which is located in South Auckland and was settled by Gujarati and Panjabi communities starting in the 1960s. The majority of “A’s” students are also Sikh Panjabis, although not exclusively as some

are Hindu. “A” and his school assumed the financial responsibility for the concert and workshops. The school’s community members also made financial contributions for the opportunity to participate.

Sponsorship support was attracted from local from local Indian businesses whose proprietors were not exclusively members of the Sikh community. “A’s” students were also involved in the event for social reasons and contributed by attracting audience (family and friends), stage setup, back- and front-of-house and other logistical details required on the day. They also share cultural identity relationships with “A” through the cultural music school. The local jazz musicians who were invited to perform at the concert were friends of “A’s” outside of his school and from other cultural identities. They donated their time and performed through their social relationships with “A”. The performance required rehearsals. The performance was mainly an improvised fusion performance involving the jazz musicians with the overseas musicians and their senior students.

“A” covered the expenses for the venue, technicians and local Indian ticket outlets to distribute tickets, creating commercial relationships. “A” accessed publicity through the Indian community media and, in this case, the event received the support of the local Panjabi press through cultural identity relationships. “A” also has an active Facebook site that establishes cultural identity relationships, beyond the scope of the Indian community press. Facebook opens indirect relationships publicising events in a manner that moves out of the direct control of the original publicist, in this case “A”.

This example demonstrates how cultural music school producers can create opportunities for themselves as local musicians and for their students, as well as the wider musical community, to study and perform live on stage with experienced overseas musicians. The performance event promotes the cultural schools to the wider public. The event reached outside of the local school community to the wider public, securing future networks. The house was full with a very responsive audience, including two Hamilton-based classical performers who travelled two hours to attend the event. It is clear that “A” as a producer has created a niche in his own distinct cultural market.

Case Study 5: Cultural Schools and Cultural Society Production Collaboration

The next event example demonstrates how “B”, who had also produced the Prashanta Bhanja concert (Case Study 3), and who was the school’s cultural music director, was involved in a successful collaboration that engaged community organisations and performers beyond his immediate circle. This example illustrates how cultural schools

align themselves with larger cultural associations by co-producing events in order to access resources. They share the cultural transmission of Indian classical traditions as a common motivator. Sur Sangam was a successful event that involved collaboration between community organisations. Networks and alliances were achieved crossing the North/South cultural boundaries to create a financially viable concert. Two visiting Indian musicians presented a North-South classical duet in May 2012 at an event co-produced by the Sangeetha Bharathi School of Music, the cultural society Rasikas NZ, and the Sargam School of Music.

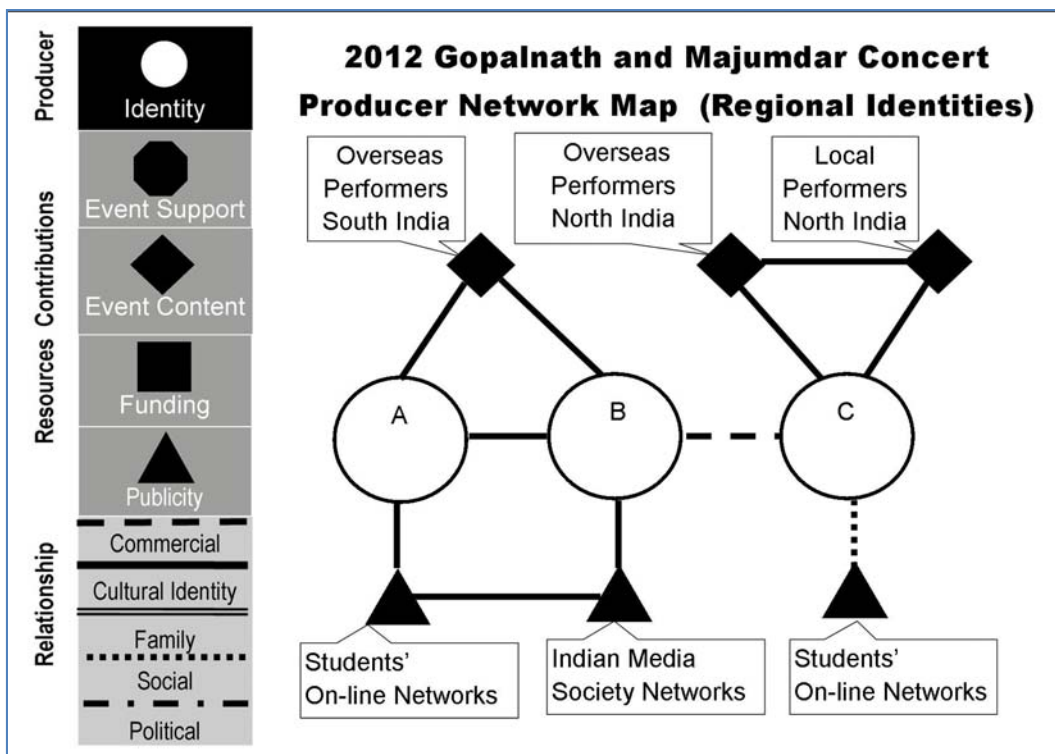


Figure 18. Sur Sangam 2012, featuring Gopalnath and Majumdar

Figure 18 is a partial project map; as it serves a different function from the previous maps, it does not include the funding or event support details. This map is used to illustrate how power collaborations and cultural identity are used to support access to event content and publicity through cross-cultural organisation production relationship practices.

Producers “A”, “B” and “C” co-produced Sur Sangam, uniting North and South cultural affiliations and showcasing both cultures through collaboration between cultural organisations. This event demonstrates how collaborations across cultural affiliations can create strong stakeholder relationships. The overseas musicians represent two different musical traditions: Kadri Gopalnath is a musician from South India who plays saxophone,

and Ronu Majumdar is a musician from North India who plays flute. They stopped in Auckland on a global collaborative tour.

Producer “A” represents a cultural school that specialises in South Indian vocal and instrumental music, Producer “B” is a cultural society that promotes South Indian classical music by producing events in community halls and school auditoriums, and Producer “C” is a director of a cultural music school that teaches tabla, the classical hand drums from North India. “A” and “B” share a cultural identity relationship through their South Indian cultural affiliations and also share a cultural relationship with Gopalnath.

“C” has a cultural identity relationship to an overseas relationship box that contains Majumdar. “C” has commercial relationships with “B” as “C” is being paid to play with the overseas performers. “C” used the event to promote his school and enhance his career as a performer and teacher. “C” has an established relationship with Majumdar. He has produced other concerts in Auckland in the past ten years, including ones in which he performed with Majumdar. “C” is motivated to enhance the prestige of his family as performers, as well of his school, in the local community. The concert poster lists a variety of sponsors supporting this event, including Indian community television and Radio Tarana (Radio Tarana is the oldest Hindi radio station in Auckland), two Indian restaurants, financial advisors, car dealers and international business consultants. Lotus Foreign Exchange has naming rights, and is connected to “C” through a family member as well as through student relationships.

The concert attracted a large audience, filling the Dorothy Winstone Auditorium at Auckland Girls’ Grammar School (900-seat capacity). The venue is very popular with local Indian community groups as it has free parking, comfortable seating, no ticket agency contracts, and a large foyer at a reasonable rental fee. The ticket prices were kept reasonable at \$30, \$45 and \$60, and tickets were distributed through the ticket outlet in Yogiji’s Food Mart and by the three producers and their networks. The event was promoted in both local Indian newspapers: the business-oriented *Indian Newslink* that is edited by South Indians, and *Indian Weekender* that features the arts and is edited by North Indians.

An important commonality between the three producers, despite being from different language and regional traditions, is their shared traditional Hindu religious practices and values. These types of collaborations reinforce fundamental Hindu customs and cultures uniting under a larger banner, and serve to encourage the transmission of Indian classical performing arts traditions. The North-South classical music collaboration

reflects common values that cross the diverse Indian languages and customs, reflecting the cultural complexities of the Indian diaspora and the need for a sense of community unity.

Cultural Society Diversity in Three Holi Festivals

Holi is a Hindu festival that coincides with the beginning of Spring in India. It celebrates good harvests and the fertility of the land as well as being associated with the Hindu mythological tale of the immortal love of Lord Krishna and Radha. The coloured powder or gulaal used during the festivities is thrown and smeared on revellers, a popular village tradition. Three very different interpretations of Holi are currently produced in Auckland: one by the Waitakere Indian Association, another by Bhartiya Samaj with Humm FM, a new Bollywood radio station, and the third an alternative Holi Festival complete with DJ produced by the newly formed New Zealand Indian Students' Association. This section demonstrates how cultural communities come together to create widely differing interpretations of the 'same' cultural festival.

Case Study 6: WIA Rang Barse Holi Mela

The Waitakere Indian Association (WIA) produces events that celebrate Diwali and Holi festivals as well as events of specific interest to the Indo-Fijian community, including Girmit, a day for remembering and commemorating the sacrifices of Fiji's indentured labourers of Indian heritage between 1879 and 1920, as mentioned previously in this thesis. Holi celebrations have grown from small community gatherings into a large free annual festival. WIA began producing an annual public Holi celebration at the Corban Estate Arts Centre in Henderson, West Auckland, in 2002. The event is now branded Rang Barse Holi Mela (Holi Mela) and held at The Trusts Arena, a large indoor venue. WIA has a large, strongly Indo-Fijian community membership, which is reflected in their production practices.

As discussed by Leckie (2007), one of the biggest shifts in the cultural composition of the local Indian population of the Auckland region was the waves of incoming Indo-Fijians following major discrimination and attacks against this community during the coup in Fiji in 1987 and a further coup and political upheaval in 2000. The majority of these Indo-Fijians settled in the western suburbs of Auckland, creating the need for an Indian association in that area (Bandyopadhyay, 2010; Friesen & Kearns, 2008)

WIA states that its purpose is to provide for the ethnic needs of culture, language and values of the Indian community in Waitakere, and it aligns linguistically with speakers

of Hindi (WIA, 2012). WIA has a prominent profile in the wider Auckland community and produces festivals that include other cultural communities, including Chinese, Māori, and Pacific Islanders. The organisation's management includes important people who have powerful political relationships within larger Indian cultural associations as well as with government agencies. The Human Rights Commission is a major supporter of the WIA's Holi Mela event. Waitakere hosts a large population of Indo-Fijians who have had a history of human rights violations in Fiji and many have settled within this west Auckland community to create new lives.

WIA was a runner-up for the New Zealand Community of the Year Award for their contribution to the cultural prosperity of the region (NZ Awards, 2013). Anand Naidu, immediate past President of WIA, received a 2013 Queen's Service Medal for his service to the community. He is also a member of the executive committee of the Bharatiya Mandir, the largest Hindu temple in Auckland (Raman, 2013). Prestigious awards for community groups increase community profile, opening opportunities for political relationships that lead to valuable production resources.

WIA has been able to promote itself as the cultural organisation that creates events that gives the Indian community opportunities to share their culture and traditions with the rest of the west Auckland community (WIA, 2012). WIA has organised the Diwali: Festival of Lights event since 2002. They also produce children's concerts, sporting events, social networking events and regular activities including monthly senior meets, business networks and cultural school programmes that cater for the Indian language (Hindi), cultural, drama and music needs. WIA's strong position in the wider Auckland community has created opportunities for the WIA events producer to link into Auckland Council and other government agencies for event support.

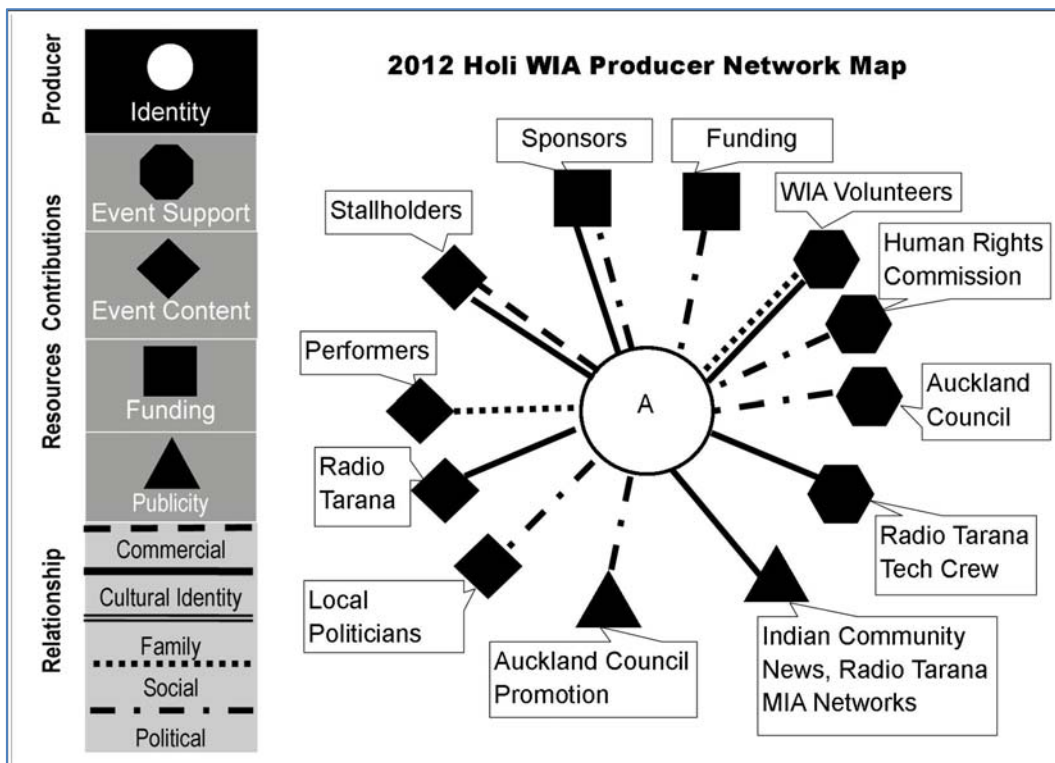


Figure 19. WIA Rang Barse Holi Mela 2012

The cultural organisation producer of the WIA’s Holi event is identified as “A” and placed in the white circle centre of the project map in Figure 19. The WIA is an established cultural association with strong political relationships that link to funding, government organisations, and local politicians. “A” relies on volunteers from WIA’s membership to provide help in delivering the event on the day.

“A” has a political relationship with Auckland Council. The Council provides the permits, venue and staff and well as promotion through the Auckland community event promotion channels. The event was held in The Trusts Arena, a large venue owned by Auckland Council. “A” will have paid some money to use the facility, although this commercial transaction was negotiated by the producers through social and political relationships.

This version of a Holi celebration was designed to embrace multiculturalism and help unite communities together. The event organiser, Manoj Tahal, has been involved in the event from its inception over 10 years ago. For the past five years, the event had included the late kaumātua¹⁰ Denis Hansen, from the local Hoani Waititi Mārae,¹¹ who

¹⁰ A kaumātua is an elected Māori elder.

¹¹ A Mārae is a Māori community facility that usually consists of a carved meeting house, dining facilities and sacred space in front of the meeting house.

annually blessed the celebration with a pōwhiri.¹² Stage items are designed to reflect the inclusive nature of the Holi theme, including performances by the local Burundian community, a haka¹³ from Kelston Girls' College, as well as bhangra, Bollywood and classical dance (T. R. Singh, 2012b). The event attracts local politicians, who make speeches and enjoy photo opportunities as they align themselves with potential supporters.

The event funding support (cash and in kind) is accessed from political and commercial relationships with Auckland Council, The Trusts Community Foundation, ANZ Bank, Food for Less New Lynn and Radio Tarana. Radio Tarana provides access to three types of resources: event support through technicians and equipment, event content, providing stage personalities as MCs and Bollywood dance judges, and promotion of the event on their radio station. All three resources are accessed through cultural identity relationships, as the management of Radio Tarana and many members of the WIA are Indian migrants who have arrived in Auckland via Fiji.

Community funding through councils or trusts is vital for producing free festivals. Access to these resources is not available to all producers. Community grants and trust funding, such as The Trusts Community Foundation, only allocate cash to events that are seen as produced by and for a specific community, non-commercial and with clear outcomes as to how the event will benefit the specific targeted community.¹⁴ These funding sources are not available to producers of commercial events.

Revenue and goods in kind are gathered through commercial relationships to funding resources. Sponsorship from local businesses like Food for Less New Lynn is common at this kind of community event. ANZ Bank has a long-term sponsorship relationship with the Auckland Council event teams. In addition, WIA rents stalls to vendors to defray costs. The vendors sell food, arts and crafts, music and videos, as well providing information booths that promote spiritual activities, educational opportunities and local business enterprises. This Holi celebration creates a unique cultural interface

¹² A *pōwhiri* is the formal traditional Māori ceremony for welcoming visitors.

¹³ The Māori word “haka” means a dance or a song accompanied by dance. There are many versions of haka—they all share emotive actions that evoke spirit or life force. Traditionally haka served as a ritual between tribes. The traditional welcoming of visitors onto a Marae includes the sharing of tribal traditions through song and dance. Currently the more visible form of haka is seen as a challenge or a warrior dance by NZ's national rugby team, the All Blacks, although this is a limited meaning of the term.

¹⁴ The Trusts Arena where Holi is held is supported by the TTCFL (Trust Board). The TTCFL collects funds from gambling machines and the selling of alcohol in West Auckland. It returns up to 99% of net proceeds raised in The Trusts venues to West Auckland in the form of grants for events and to community organisations. Members of the community may apply for money for the arts, sports, cultural activities, charities and social and service organisations.

between the Indian population and other ethnicities residing in multicultural West Auckland. The event was designed to showcase the cultural diversity of the host community and reached out to a culturally diverse audience, reflecting the inclusive nature of the event content.

Case Study 7: Bhartiya Samaj and Humm FM: Holi Festival of Colours

Holi Festival of Colours was produced for the first time in 2012. The event was co-produced by Bhartiya Samaj Charitable Trust (Bhartiya Samaj) and a newly launched radio station, Humm FM. Humm FM promotes itself as the first global Indian and Asian FM station in Auckland. Humm FM promotes itself as “a music brand that is young, exciting, upmarket, modern, and relates to the Global Asian. It is a melting pot of a new global youth culture and new sounds” (HUMM FM, 2012). Humm FM has speedily broken into the market, competing directly with Radio Tarana, the established Indian AM radio station that has monopolised the Indian market since 1996.

Bhartiya Samaj is a not-for-profit organisation that has operated in New Zealand since 1995. It is the largest multi-faith Indian organisation functioning in Auckland, with over 1,000 members. It was established to help and support people of South Asian origin who are settled, and also those who have newly migrated to New Zealand, by means of various community development and awareness activities. It is an all-inclusive organisation and works in close tandem with many other community development organisations representing the different states of India as well as neighbouring countries like Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, Bhutan, Tibet and Sri Lanka. It serves as an ‘umbrella’ association for other Hindu religious and/or culturally affiliated organisations. Bhartiya Samaj’s activities focus on religious festivals, the Independence Day celebration, acting as senior community advocates as well as running kids’ camps (Bharatiya Samaj, 2012). Bhartiya Samaj’s chairperson, Jeet Suchdev, is a recipient of a Queen’s Service Medal for his service to the community.

In 2012, Bhartiya Samaj paired with Humm FM to produce a new Holi Festival celebration: the Holi Festival of Colours. This new co-production partnership has resulted in Radio Tarana losing its competitive advantage as long-time media partner with Bhartiya Samaj. 2012 Holi Festival of Colours represents the forging of new partnerships between Bhartiya Samaj, Manukau Indian Association and Humm FM.

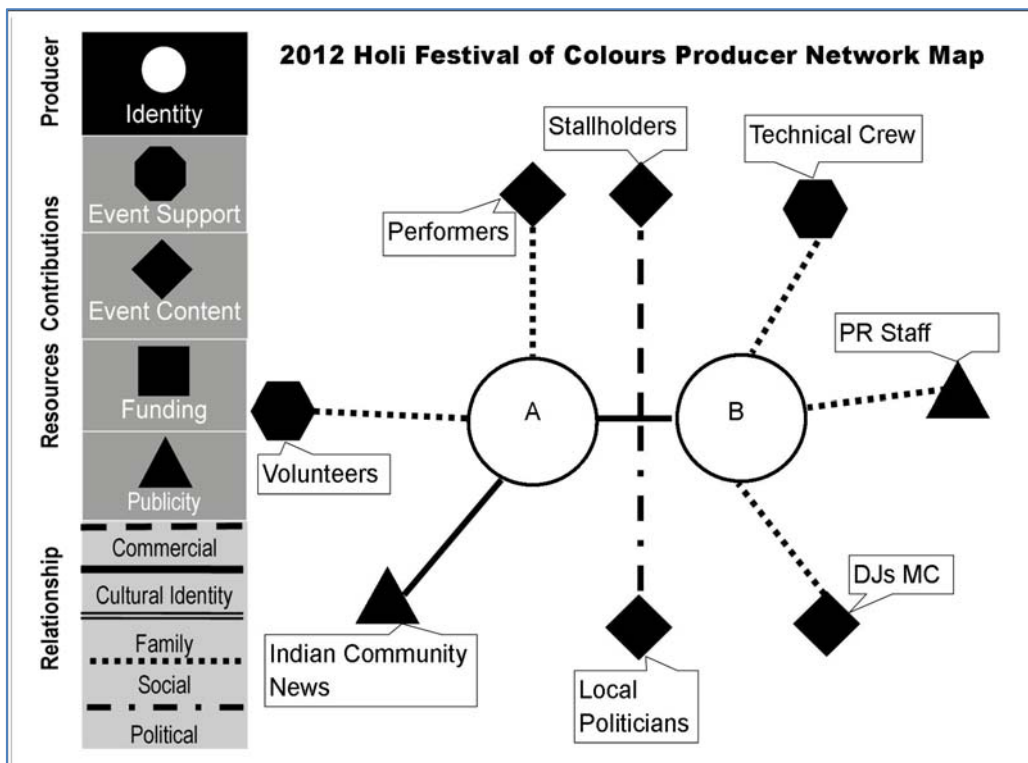


Figure 20. Bhartiya Samaj and Humm FM: Holi Festival of Colours

Figure 20 identifies the 2012 Holi Festival of Colours as being co-produced, indicated by “A” and “B” placed in two white circles in the centre of the figure. “A” represents a producer from Bhartiya Samaj, and “B” represents a producer from Humm FM. This producer network map identifies a model in which two producers bring different production resources into events. “A” and “B” share a cultural identity relationship. “A” played the role of event coordinator and “B” contributed more to the commercial side of the event content and publicity. They both provided access to event content and event support through social, political and cultural identity relationships. Humm FM provided event support through entertainment, stage support and media promotion. Humm FM has a political interest in the event, as it is looking for brand placement and market positioning as they seek competitive advantage over Radio Tarana.

The event was promoted by the local Indian community newspapers, which also followed up post-event with positive reviews and editorials. Humm FM publicised the event on their radio station. The event was held at the Vodafone Events Centre (formally known as the TelstraClear Pacific Event Centre) in the south side of Auckland. The festival was advertised as a family affair, with live performances including bhangra, Bollywood and western music.

Politicians from across the political spectrum showed up and gave speeches. Members of Parliament attending included the Labour Party's Rajen Prasad, Phil Goff, and Lianne Dalziel; from NZ First, party leader Winston Peters and MP Brendan Horan; National Party MPs Kanwaljit Singh Bakshi and Melissa Lee; Race Relations Commissioner Joris de Bres; and Sam Sefuiva, Principal Advisor for Race Relations at the NZ Human Rights Commission (Bureau Staff, 2012a). The live performances included DJs and MCs from Humm FM, and local community performances by Bollywood dance groups, the Hare Krishna Temple, BollyRobix, and classical music schools, as well as a Faag singing performance, bringing the unique Indo-Fijian cultural identity to the festivities.

The 2012 event was a huge success, and the Holi Festival of Colours in 2013 attracted major stakeholders, including an additional co-producer, Bhartiya Samaj, and community funding through South Trust, ensuring sustainable future events. The South Trust is an organisation that distributes profits from gambling machines in the South Auckland communities, and Bhartiya Samaj, as a charitable trust, is able to apply for South Trust funds.

The inclusion of Faag or chautal repertoire is a reference to Indo-Fijian culture, which was not represented in the previous WIA Holi event discussed, despite WIA having a strong Indo-Fijian identity. The two events had contrasting event content. The Bhartiya Samaj event included performances from a variety of local Indian cultural schools. This is in contrast to the WIA Holi, which included event content from across various New Zealand cultural communities, emphasising multiculturalism. The Holi Festival of Colours emphasises that the purpose of the event is to celebrate Indian unity. As reported in the *Indian Weekender*, "Manukau Indian Association, Bhartiya Samaj Charitable Trust and Humm 106.2 FM, Auckland's only Hindi FM radio station, have paid great heed and utmost importance to the philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi that 'UNITED WE STAND, DIVIDED WE FALL'" (Bureau Staff, 2012c).

The two celebrations, WIA Holi Mela and Holi Festival of Colours, were supported by competing radio stations, Radio Tarana and Humm FM, both owned and managed by local members of the Indo-Fijian community. Until now, Radio Tarana has had little airwave competition for the Hindi-speaking Indian audience. They have held a very strong public profile at larger events involving the Auckland Council, such as Diwali: Festival of Lights, as discussed in detail in Chapter 3.

Human rights and cultural unity were rhetorical themes, as both the WIA and the MIA/Humm FM versions of Holi included political speeches that focused on Holi as a festival with the ability to mix races and colours, and to have fun in celebrating Auckland’s multicultural society. The WIA Holi and Holi Festival of Colours produced similar-sized events, keeping the theme of Holi, although they included different event performance content. Both were presented as presenting a family-oriented event celebrating unity. The third case study is a Holi celebration in strong contrast to the two previous case studies. This Holi celebration was designed to specifically target an alternative youth audience.

Case Study 8: Holi Hungama

Holi Hungama was produced as an alternative Holi celebration by “A” in 2012. “A” is an alternative event producer. His success can be attributed to university and community networks. His production team members include those who arrived as cohorts in an immigration wave around 2001 and those who migrated to Auckland with their parents between 1993 and 1998. The cultural affiliations of this group are with India and not Fiji. Several of the team members are from large south Indian cities, including Hyderabad and Bangalore. They are educated city people who tend to be religiously and politically liberal and have been raised in cities and have global ties.

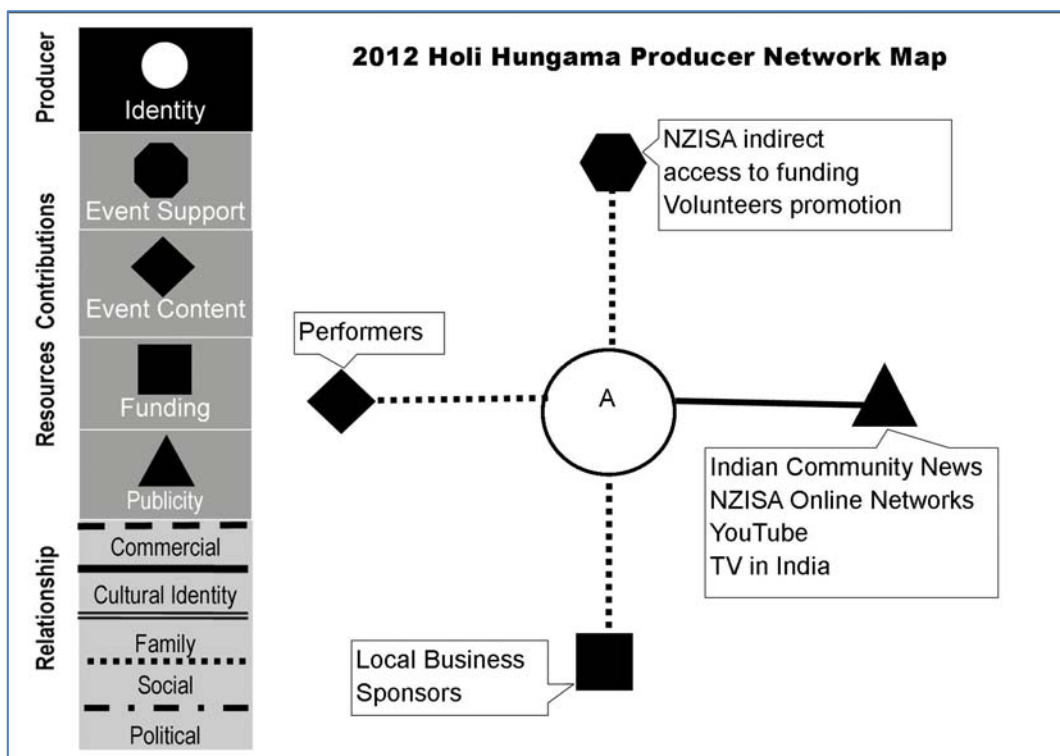


Figure 21. 2012 Holi Hungama: An Alternative Holi Celebration

“A”, as the producer of Holi Hungama, is represented as a white circle in the centre surrounded by four boxes that represent each resource category in Figure 21. The resources were accessed by two kinds of relationships: social and cultural identity. The physical event was much smaller than the two celebrations previously discussed, but it attracted a far larger and far-reaching audience via the virtual world. Producer identity and motivation is in strong contrast to the two Holi festivals discussed above.

“A” is a young emerging producer in Auckland who migrated to Auckland as a student from Hyderabad in 2003. “A” has been part of many commercial event teams and has successfully produced commercial events that are discussed in Chapters 4 and 5.

This was the first event “A” produced under the banner of the newly formed New Zealand Indian Students’ Association (NZISA). NZISA was created by “A” with his friends to strengthen networks between the growing Indian tertiary student communities. NZISA is designed to remain an independent entity outside the university student union management framework and works within the global nature of the New Zealand based Indian student diaspora. “A” wanted to create a fun celebration of Holi attracting a wide range of young people without a religious focus.

Hungama is a common word associated with Holi festivals in India and translates as a party or festival. “A” produced this event with youth-oriented branding designed to catch the public’s attention and promote the newly formed NZISA (AP, personal communication, 27 March 2012). The free event was a wet, wild, colour-strewn dance party on the lawns of the Vodafone Events Centre, the same venue as Holi Festival of Colours. The expenses were kept as low as possible, with the producer assuming any excess expenses not covered by the business sponsors. One local Indian newspaper, a travel agent and an immigration advisory service helped fund the event through sponsorship agreements.

The event’s purpose involved organising a dance party in the rain, in order to create an exciting video to send via YouTube around the globe. This event was a live dance performance that used recorded music for the video clip. The staging included rain provided by a special effects company that provides artificial rain for the film industry. The producer was not successful at securing local radio promotion and technical support as in the case of the two previous case studies. Through the NZISA, “A” was able to apply for funding through a university student association to cover some of the major expenses, although he had to personally cover the hire of the venue and some of the equipment.

The event did not attract as many as anticipated as the weather on the day was very cold, cloudy and about to rain, although in the words of “A”, “The pictures look great, and it was not my intention to replicate the WIA event that has been done in the same format for many years with big profile speakers. I wanted to attract a crowd of very different types of people reflecting our association” (AP, personal communication, 27 March 2011). Nonetheless, Holi Hungama 2012 attracted over 500 enthusiastic participants flash-mobbing, smearing themselves with colours and dancing in the rain created by sprinklers to live performances of DJ Mix. The grass location made cleanup easy and the looming clouds and drizzle added to the experience. Those attending were mainly of Indian ethnicity but there also included participants of European and other Asian ethnicities. The politicians stayed clear of this event.

The purpose of Holi Hungama was to film a flash mob that would go viral. The event was a success, with a clip of the flash mob launched on YouTube and Facebook as well as the Channel 9 Indian Telugu TV station in Andhra Pradesh (TV9 Telegu, 2012). Seventy- five flash mob performers danced to the choreographed song set to the Tamil film song “Sachin Anthem” with lyrics by Dhanush¹⁵. The song pays tribute to Indian cricketer Sachin Tendulkar, who is widely acknowledged as one of India’s greatest batsman. The event attracted the local media, with substantive write-ups in the Indian Weekender newspaper. The video clip is available online¹⁶.

This event was experimental and required very little funding. It provided a celebratory platform away from the more conservative cultural vision designed into the other two Holi celebrations. This producer was intent on launching NZISA as well as building a community audience for alternative events by catering an event for a niche market of 18- to 30-year-olds that is culturally inclusive and not religious based (AP, personal communication, 27 March 2011).

Cultural Representation at Three Holi Celebrations

The Holi celebration case studies present three different ways that ‘Indianness’ is culturally transmitted. The varying representations of the ‘same’ cultural celebration are dependent upon the way the producer conceives and designs an event and places the concept into a

¹⁵ Dhanush (Vengatesh Prabhu Kasthuri Raja) is an Indian film actor, producer, lyricist and playback singer of Tamil cinema

¹⁶ See <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eRtWPzgXkg8>.

cultural context. In this way, the identity and motivations of the producers in creating festival experiences, becomes a conduit in a series of negotiations and renegotiations of cultural representation that is realised in the live event experience.

The three Holi celebrations were designed by the producers to meet the needs of quite different sectors of the Indian communities in Auckland. Harnish explains the importance of variation and sustainability in his study of festivals on the island of Lombok in Indonesia:

While festivals may be perpetuated from mythic times, their performance must accommodate the current time; festivals must accept and respond to the present to remain meaningful. Though a festival and its rites are repeatable, they are neither exactly reproduced nor experienced precisely the same way twice. The participants not their ancestors, are the major players in the event, and the festival must continue to serve their needs or it ceases to be significant and may be discontinued (Harnish, 2006, p. 18).

The three Holi festivities offer a comparison of quite different interpretations of a traditional celebration that reflect the unique history and cultural make-up of Auckland's Indian communities. The three festivals demonstrate three very different community organisations with quite different histories, membership and sense of purpose.

The WIA Holi Mela producers were motivated by political relationships with government funding bodies as well as connecting with the growing diversity of West Auckland's growing cultural communities. The event focussed on representing the interests of families across many cultures that make up the demographics of the West Auckland suburbs. The major media sponsor was Radio Tarana, the oldest and most established of the Indian radio stations, with a long history of involvement in festivals and events, including Diwali: Festival of Lights and the majority of commercial Bollywood events.

The Holi Festival of Colours was produced by Bhartiya Samaj in association with Humm FM. Bhartiya Samaj was motivated by commercial and political interests, and Humm FM, by commercial interests. Bhartiya Samaj has an established relationship with Humm FM whose logo is prominently displayed on the Bhartiya Samaj Charitable Trust webpage. Holi Festival of Colours was designed to appeal to a pan-Indian audience in keeping with the aims of the Trust. The family-oriented event involved performers from a wide variety of the local Indian communities. The event had a twofold purpose: for Bhartiya Samaj it served to uphold Holi as a Hindu celebration and secure political ties with community groups and politicians, and for Humm FM an opportunity arose to launch

a new radio station in association with one of the city's most politically powerful Indian societies.

Holi Hungama was a dance party reflecting the traditional annual Holi festival in India that serves to loosen strict Hindu norms by allowing rich and poor as well as men and women to dance together in celebration of the end of winter and the arrival of spring. The producer aimed to present an event for his fellow students and friends to enjoy. They also wanted to promote their Indian student community association as well as explore integrating their activity in the virtual world. The networks built are valuable assets for the promotion of future events aimed at this growing target market. Holi Hungama in this way can be seen as something old and something new.

Cultural associations produce events that reinforce images of specific regional and linguistic differentiation in order to create and reinforce cultural identity. This was demonstrated in a unique way by the Waitakere Indian Association. Holi Mela presented a festival with traditional festivities but also included local performers from other cultural communities, including Māori and Africans, reflecting the multiethnic composition of the West Auckland community. This example brings up an interesting question of cultural identity and transcultural borders, and the role India plays in Auckland's multicultural landscape.

The 2012 Holi Festival of Colours was a result of the Manukau Indian Association, Bhartiya Samaj Charitable Trust and Humm 106.2 FM, who entered into an understanding that they would present religious and calendar events for the Indian community as a collaborative effort rather than duplicating them. It is the common Hindu religious identity and Indian nationalism as represented by Mahatma Ghandi that binds these three organisations together, as well as the act of service to the community. Holi is a culturally infused ritual celebration embedded in the meanings of spring and is a Hindu-charged celebration. These examples demonstrate how community organisations produce celebrations that bind communities in meaningful ways by responding to the present needs of the participants.

Conclusion

This chapter demonstrated the role community organisations play in cultural transmission. The Indian community includes cultural identities from a vast array of regions, religious practices and linguistic divisions. The community organisations play an important role in providing space to feel at home and a sense of belonging in a community with others with

whom a common cultural identity is shared. These case studies serve to illustrate how cultural organisations produce events that are integral to rituals, spirituality, kinship and social interaction. The event examples were chosen to provide a range of events, organisations and cultures, offering an overview of the kind of organisations that produce events, their production practices, and where they culturally ‘fit’ in the larger community contexts. All examples demonstrate the important role events, put on by the diverse Indian community organisations play in Auckland by play in transmitting cultural identities.

The community organisation producers are motivated by the desire to affirm specific cultural practices that preserve the culture of their ‘original’ homelands within the Auckland Indian communities. Organisations represent Indian culture in a variety of ways. Some focus explicitly on linguistic or regional subcultures (for example Panjabi, Gujarati or Bengali) while others attempt to represent India as a whole. Similarly, organisations such as the NZCMS or the WIA tend to transmit specific linguistic or regional identities.

Kalpana Ram, in her dance research on transnational Indian communities in Australia, describes cultural transmission as ‘an anxiety-driven project’ that is symptomatic of a disturbance in migrants’ relationship to past, present and future:

Without the social environment that was taken for granted up until now, the past is revealed to be something less autonomous and secure than the embodied acquisition of our previous experience. Having children in this environment precipitates a new set of instabilities. Without a ‘collectivity’ that will automatically sustain the transmission of patterns to the next generation it must now turn into a consciously undertaken project on the part of the individual. (Ram, 2002, p. 262)

As there has been a significant increase in migrants of Indian cultural heritage arriving in Auckland over the past 15 years, the variety of community events is increasing, reflecting the diversity of the communities. As previously discussed in Chapter 1, until the 1980s, over 90 percent of New Zealand Indians were from Gujarat and most were Hindu. The next biggest group came from the Panjab and were usually Sikh, followed by Indo-Fijians born in Fiji who have forged new traditions in the Pacific.

By the 1986 census, 45 percent of a total New Zealand Indian population of 11,577 had been born in New Zealand, while 31 percent had been born in India. Since then the number of Indians (defined as people who identify as Indian on the census ethnicity question) resident in New Zealand has increased to over 100,000, with a considerable increase in arrivals from major Indian cities (Davey, Keeling, & Zodgekar, 2010).

The case studies in this chapter offered a variety of examples as to how community

producers provide a space in their events that creates connectivity but also through a shared cultural experience, bringing people together through a complexity of cultural meanings. Indian modernity is a product of local cultures, divided by languages, religions and customs, as well as historical trajectories, bundled together by images, ideologies, and capital (Appadurai & Breckenridge, 1995). Cultural organisations produce events that do not present one united image of India, but rather multiple versions of ‘Indianness’, as culture is forever transforming and morphing into new versions of identity.

The diverse nature of Indian community organisations is reflected in various types of production practices. However, there is a consistent focus on the representation and transmission of various aspects of Indian culture. This is not surprising given that the role of the cultural organisations is to support and nurture cultural identity. For example, Indiance is a dance school that creates lavish Bollywood dance shows featuring its students reflecting conservative Hindu values. The teachers are not trained in classical dance. They are self-taught Bollywood and modern dance teachers who attract students from the West Auckland Indo-Fijian and Gujarati communities. The Indiance teachers were raised in Auckland and have degrees from New Zealand universities. The Indiance team is innovative; it has created opportunities for its students to perform at Diwali Festival of Lights, and has produced commercial shows in the ASB Theatre and other large Council venues. Indiance plays a creative role in the local community, providing dance activities that attract male and female participants from children to young adults.

The role dance plays in the Auckland communities reflects the growing global Indian dance identity that is emerging in cities with large Indian migrant populations (O’Shea, 2003, 2008; Ram, 2011). The popularity of studying and performing dance, specifically by women and girls, creates communities in which culture is transmitted, whether classical, popular or a combination. The communities form an important role in belonging and finding a place to call home. Migrants have come in waves and have formed, and are still in the process of forming, various community organisations that represent the cultural diversity of Auckland’s Indian communities and Auckland’s growing multicultural population.

Events produced by community organisations have no doubt represented the cultures of India to Auckland longer than any other category of events discussed in this research. These organisations produce events by and for their community. The celebratory events produced by cultural organisations play an important role for migrant communities,

and especially women, providing emotional, spiritual and cultural resources that offer sustenance through the tasks of adjusting to living in a new country.

New migrants join cultural organisations to share local cultural interpretations of festivals and annual celebrations. The children's parents and families attend the performances as well as supporting the organisations by sending their children to study music, dance and languages. In this way, cultural organisations play an important role in the cultural transmission of community identity and cultural practices in their roles as event producers.

Chapter Three: Government Agencies as Producers of 'India'

Introduction

This chapter discusses events produced by government agencies representing 'other' cultures. Government agencies have responded to the growth of the Indian communities and have acknowledged the need to produce events that showcase Indian culture to Auckland's majority cultures. Government agency producers have hegemonic control over cultural production practices in which they control the resources.

The chapter begins with a discussion placing government involvement in representing India through events in a historical perspective. Events are presented in a chronologically, between 1995-2012, in order to illustrate how major shifts in government art funding policies and the more recent local government restructuring of Auckland City have affected the production of events representing Indian culture. The eight case studies that follow examine concerts, festivals and the placement of concerts in festivals over this time frame in order to compare management practices, government agency involvement and cultural representation.

Government agencies play a powerful role in allocating resources across the creative industries. As government agencies control public policies that determine how the arts are funded. Those producers who work for government agencies access to economic resources that are not accessible to producers outside of specific political relationships. Government agency producers rely on funding from other government agencies, affecting how local councils approach the support of cultural events. Government agencies have the unique ability to take advantage of other government agency resources and access existing corporate relationships placed in their larger event portfolios. The ability for government agencies to access such powerful relationships is beyond that of local community organisations. At the same time they are vulnerable to the ever-changing political agendas that allocate funding and strategic cultural policies. The ability for local and national government agency control can bring up contentious issues of power, advocacy, and the way in which 'India' is represented. This is a process the Indian communities benefit from as well, as these relationships may open funding sources and exposure to wider and larger audiences.

The grassroots management style of cultural organisations and the role they play in cultural transmission stands in strong contrast to the production practice of government

agency producers. Government agencies practice a top-down style of management with the ability to access financial and political resources. They are in the unique position of having political relationships with those who control cultural policies, funding and assets.

Government agencies often engage in events that reflect the goals of wider government cultural policies. The New Zealand government recognises the importance of the growth in voters within the growing Indian populations. Equally important is the growth of India as a trading partner with New Zealand. This has resulted in government agencies in various collaborations with overseas promoters and local Indian organisations producing significant events showcasing Indian culture to the people of Auckland. Community organisations working within the management of government agencies have little control over the way in which their cultural identity is portrayed.

The growth of government agencies supporting Indian performances coincides with the growth of the Indian population in New Zealand. Since the 1980s, the total number of Indian residents in New Zealand has increased significantly as a result of the changes in immigration policies discussed in Chapter 1. By 2006, the number of people of Indian ethnicity had increased by 35 percent (88,772), with a significant increase of people arriving directly from India (Leckie, 2010). Bandyopadhyay (2010) argues that not only have the 2003 changes in immigration policy attracted more people of Indian origin, they are arriving with significantly different skills and attributes. The new migrants are prominent in business, medicine, education, politics, sports and the arts.

The snapshot identified 10 out of 60 events as being produced by government agencies. Some of these events are festivals that attract the largest audiences found in the scope of this research. These events embody ongoing government agency production practices that began in 1994 with changes in New Zealand government policies. Prior to this period, the majority of events representing India were produced for and by the Indian communities. With small exceptions, as in the case of the occasional Ravi Shankar performance, as previously discussed, Indian culture was not visible in the cultural arts milieu of New Zealand.

The Growth of Indian Events and Auckland's Creative Industries

The growth of the creative industries and the government producing events representing Indian culture began in 1994. This is when the National-Party-led government, under the direction of Prime Minister Jim Bolger, began shifting the New Zealand government's

business development focus towards Asia (Bolger, 1994).¹⁷ The new government policies meant that New Zealand became a more active member of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) by joining and participating in the ASEAN Regional Forum with the intention of encouraging business development across Asia. Founded in 1967, ASEAN is central to New Zealand's business and corresponding political relations across Asia, accessing a market with a population of over 600 million people (ASEAN, 2013).

In 1994, the Prime Minister also established the Asia New Zealand Foundation (Asia: NZ), formerly known as the Asia 2000 Foundation (Asia 2000). Asia 2000 was a foundation established to administer a number of projects under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade and the New Zealand Trade Development Board. This was a period of economic liberalisation. The government maintained that New Zealand needed to create business development in Asia to match New Zealand's economic position against the growing economies of Asia.

Asia 2000's mission was to promote a major reorientation of New Zealand by developing businesses focussing 'towards Asia' by the year 2000 (Asia 2000, 1997). Asia 2000 successfully accomplished its goals in the year 2000, and the organisation went through a restructuring. Many of the founders remain with the organisation, including Jennifer King in her cultural development role. The organisation was re-branded and the name changed to Asia New Zealand Foundation in 2004 (Asia: NZ, 2009). Asia 2000 produced the 1997 Festival of Asia, developing a platform for the growth in cultural events promoting Asian culture. The outcome has been the development of sustainable cultural festivals, for example, the Lantern Festival and Diwali: Festival of Lights, that continue to be produced in Auckland today.

The 1997 Festival of Asia was the first major event produced by Asia 2000. The festival included the support of multiple stakeholders and featured local and overseas artists representing the diverse cultures of countries across Asia. It served as a cultural platform on which to build strong partnerships through which business and political relationships could be nurtured. The Festival of Asia created an unique event environment that opened new opportunities for the development of cultural events and partnerships with access to arts funding that community festivals continue to benefit from today.

In 1997, Helen Clark started in her role as Minister for Arts, Culture and Heritage as a deputy minister within the elected Labour government and continued until the end of

¹⁷ Jim Bolger held the office of Prime Minister from 1990 until Helen Clark's election win in 1999.

her term as Prime Minister in 2008.¹⁸ The government during these years had a keen interest in the arts, opening business opportunities in the creative industries and increasing funding for the arts in the tertiary education sector. As the New Zealand government was focussing more and more on Asia for developing business partnerships, Helen Clark was increasing government support for the arts.

Clark committed resources to the renewal of New Zealand's cultural sector. As a result of the new economic policies, the government began injecting cash into the creative sector with the expectation that it would return economic benefits through creative endeavours. The government's support for arts funding reflected the global trend to support the creative industries. Global leaders were listening to Richard Florida (2004), who was arguing that creativity is the great leveller and that societies need to generate long-run prosperity by aligning economic growth with the fuller development of human potential.

The New Zealand government responded to this notion by injecting time and resources into the creative sectors. In 2000, Helen Clark launched her 'cultural recovery package' and justified the importance of nourishing the arts:

A nation can be rich in every material sense, but, if it fails to provide for and nurture creative expression, it is impoverished in immeasurable ways. Our arts, our culture and our heritage define and strengthen us as a country, as communities and as individuals. This sector expresses our unique national identity. (Volkerlinga, 2010, p. 8)

The 'cultural recovery package' placed a large contribution of government funding into the creative industries. This cultural policy created significant growth in New Zealand's film, fashion and music industries. The New Zealand Film and New Zealand Music Commissions were established and continue to be supported by government funding.

In 2000, \$80 million in government funding was injected into the cultural sector through the Ministry of Arts, Culture and Heritage. Out of this funding, \$20 million was given to Creative New Zealand every year for three years to distribute to those who contributed to cultural events in recognition of the growing cultural diversity of New Zealand. Funding was also available to assist individuals and organisations to grow across the arts sectors (Creative NZ, 2000).

Many policymakers, activists, council and government officers, cultural entrepreneurs, researchers and academics were able to incorporate the creative industry

¹⁸ Helen Clark represented the Labour Party as Prime Minister for three terms, from 1999 to 2008.

concept into their political, cultural, economic and social projects (Prince, 2010). The investment was expected to open up positive economic industry development opportunities, creating considerable economic spin-offs from the creative industry sectors. One of the government responses was to become involved in creating cultural festivals. This is because festivals have the ability to create their own event brand, they are easy to replicate year after year as the production design stays the same, the expenses are predictable, and the event content is formulaic.

What is important to remember, from a producer's perspective, is that festivals require the ability to change in order to ensure sustainability, as the event concept can become 'static' and over-produced. Formulaic festivals unable to adapt to changes in cultural policies, council governance, and local participation may become no longer feasible (Clarke & Jepson, 2011). Some festivals are dependent on the success or non-success of gaining funding that are determined by the cultural policies governments have put into place. In the case of funding for events to attract tourism dollars to specific destinations, the impact of government policies has been hotly debated (Aitchison & Pritchard, 2007; Hall & Rusher, 2004; Harnish, 2006; Jago et al., 2003; Roth & Frank, 2000; Van Aalst & van Melik, 2012; Yeoman et al., 2004).

Recent development goals to grow Auckland as a tourist destination has had major impacts on the management of community cultural festivals as well as the representation of 'others' in arts festivals managed under government agencies. Strategic networking between the council producers and event stakeholders may create opportunities to strengthen business relationships, grow audiences, and encourage tourism. Carnegie and Smith (2006) point out that the more tourists a community festival attracts, the less likely it is to remain at the community level and the more likely events are to become 'whitewashed' or over-promoted for a tourist audience.

Power may play an important role when 'outsiders' represent what it is to be culturally 'authentic', but at the same time 'outsiders' may create opportunities for the 'others' to showcase their culture to a wider audience. The identity of a producer as an event manager or city bureaucrat affects the way in which communities are represented, as festival management research suggests that the appointment of festival coordinators as employees in hierarchical management structures results in the coordinator having limited power to challenge decisions made by the established hierarchy (Clarke & Jepson, 2011).

Compounded by this argument is that the original festival creator may maintain influence over the event production as 'director' or 'gatekeeper', controlling the cultural

and creative direction, rather than the event coordinator, who has considerably more festival expertise (Derrett, 2003; Greenfeld, 1988). On the other hand, council event teams may not have festival expertise or knowledge of the culture they are representing. They may hold substantial power, accessing funding, promotion, venues and other valuable resources that are not available to individual producers and/or community organisations. Although there may be individuals within the team representing the cultural groups being showcased, collectively the production team identifies with cultures ‘outside’ of the cultural identities being represented.

Some non-Indian producers play a visible role in showcasing ‘Indianness’ to wider communities. Important to remember, as Bandyopadhyay points out, is that the introduction of cultural and social celebrations has been useful as a means to raise public awareness of the presence of the Indian communities in local society, as these occasions can communicate a somewhat contrived idea of an homogeneous Indian community (Bandyopadhyay, 2007, 2010). With this point taken into consideration, it is important to identify the range of events representing India, who produces them, and how the events are supported in the host communities.

Table 2. Festival History Timeline (Including Indian Culture) and Producer

Event	Producer	Years produced
Auckland Arts Festival	Auckland Arts Festival Trust	2003-current (biannual)
Festival of India	ISCON	1995-2005 (annual)
Festival of Asia	Asia: NZ	1997
WOMAD Auckland	Auckland City Council	1997 and 1999
THE EDGE International Arts Season	Auckland City Council	2007-2011
Diwali: Festival of Lights	Asia: NZ and ATEED	2002-current (annual)

Table 2 identifies six festivals featuring Indian cultural content produced between 1995 and 2012, in which Auckland City Council (ACC) played an active role in the production practice. The 1995 Festival of India was the first large public display of Indian culture in Auckland and was produced by the International Society for Krishna Consciousness (ISCON), also known as the Hare Krishna movement. Although the event was not produced by ACC, they permitted the festival to close major Auckland streets for a parade.

This was a period when the government was officially recognising the potential benefits of cultural celebrations for developing economic and political networks. The 1995 Festival of India was the first Indian community event to attract mainstream media. Perhaps it is the unconventional nature of the Hare Krishna Temple and its visible public displays of devotional singing and dancing that attracts westerners.

What is historically significant is the way in which the 1997 Festival of India producers negotiated with overseas performers from the 1997 Festival of Asia, assisting to build a sustainable platform for the Festival of India until 2005. The 1997 Festival of Asia opened up opportunities for the growth of 'Asian' festivals across New Zealand.

The 1997 Festival of Asia was the beginning of large New Zealand and international government organisations' cultural initiatives collaborating together to create events that celebrate Asian culture. Some of these relationships continue, resulting in Asia: NZ's iconic Auckland events: the Lantern Festival, begun in 2000, and Diwali: Festival of Lights, begun in 2002. These festivals created production relationships, and the associated networks between local, national and international agencies responded to government strategies facilitating the development of the creative industries under the leadership of Helen Clark as Prime Minister.

In 1996, Auckland City Council successfully bid for the UK-based festival WOMAD (World of Music, Arts and Dance), with the first festival planned for 1997 and a 'taster' in 1996. The Council held the 1996 'taster' event in the Auckland Town Hall for supporting organisations and stakeholders that included local musicians as well as overseas performers from the WOMADelaide event. WOMAD was produced in 1997 and 1999 by Auckland City Council and moved to New Plymouth in 2001 after Auckland City Council lost the contract to Taranaki Regional Council.

In 2000, Auckland City Council voted to support the establishment of a unique arts and cultural festival for Auckland, celebrating its position in the Pacific. This was partially in reaction to the WOMAD festival not proving to be economically feasible within the Auckland management structure. The Taranaki Council had successfully bid for the event and has, since 2001, successfully produced the festival, currently on an annual basis.

AK03, the inaugural event of the Auckland Arts Festival, opened on September 20, 2003 and continues to be produced in the years alternating with the highly successful Wellington International Festival of the Arts. THE EDGE International Arts Season started in 2007, and was supported by Auckland City Council until the council's restructuring in 2011. The large arts festivals feature international performers from India of global repute.

The Auckland Council Auckland Arts Festival and THE EDGE International Arts Season are recipients of government funding, directly and indirectly. These organisations have little relationship with the local Indian communities, and salaries within them are publicly funded. The Council organisations have relationships with other government departments (local, national and international) that control legislation, policies and funding. They also have control over venues and public space.

The growth of the Aotea Centre, an important city venue and asset, began in 1985 when Auckland City Council negotiated the construction of a new arts centre in Auckland. The venue was established in 1985 by an Act of Parliament, the *Auckland Aotea Centre Empowering Act 1985*. The Act ensured that the Centre would be held in trust by Auckland City Council “for the benefit of the whole of the Auckland Regional District” (New Zealand Government, 1985). The Act remained unchanged until amended in 2011 to recognise the change from Auckland City Council to Auckland Council.

The Aotea Centre is part of a purpose-built arts centre that opened in 1990. It includes the ASB Theatre, with a capacity of over 2,100 people, along with conference rooms, art exhibition spaces and bars. The Centre manages a combination of events and arts programmes that began in 1994 with the Community Arts Programme. Early in 1997, the Aotea Centre Board took over the management of the Auckland Town Hall, increasing their venue management by 1,750 seats in the Great Hall and 450 in the Concert Chamber. They also launched a commercial convention services department. Later in the same year, the Board took control of the management of Aotea Square and the 2,700-seat capacity Civic Theatre, re-branding whole arts centre building precinct as THE EDGE.¹⁹

In 2007, the International Arts Season was launched. In 2010, Aotea Square was completed, and in November 2010 management shifted from Auckland City Council to the new Auckland Council ‘Super City’ management structure. THE EDGE, a council-controlled corporate entity, manages the main art centre venues in the centre of the city which include four theatres, bars, and exhibition spaces, with event coordinator and public relations teams. THE EDGE plays a role in assisting in the production of Indian culture, including Diwali: Festival of Lights and Auckland Arts Festival, in relationship with the other festival producers. Four performances representing Indian culture were included in

¹⁹ THE EDGE manages three of Auckland’s landmark venues - Aotea Centre, Auckland Town Hall and The Civic— as well as the central city’s largest outdoor space, Aotea Square. The management have branded their corporate identity as THE-EDGE to stop any confusion with the popular radio station The Edge, also located in Auckland.

the Auckland Arts Festival and THE EDGE International Arts Season between 2005 and 2011.

Table 3. THE EDGE International Arts Season and Auckland Arts Festival Events

Event	Year	Genre	Promoter	Government Agency
The Manganiyar Seduction	2011	World Folk	Roysten Abel (UK)	Auckland Council Auckland Arts Festival Trust THE EDGE International Arts Season
Rajendra Prasanna	2011	Classical WOMAD ICCR	Spirit of India (Australia)	Auckland Council Auckland Arts Festival
Anoushka Shankar Project	2008	World Commercial networks	Sulivan Sweetland Ltd. (UK)	Auckland City Council THE EDGE International Arts Season
Zakir Hussain and the Masters of Rhythm and Movement	2005	World Commercial networks	IMG Artists (USA)	Auckland City Council Auckland Arts Festival

Table 3 identifies these four events which were produced within THE EDGE International Arts Season and Auckland Arts Festival in collaboration with overseas promoters: The Manganiyar Seduction, the Anoushka Shankar Project and Zakir Hussain and the Masters of Rhythm and Movement, as well as a classical North Indian flute recital by Rajendra Prasanna, supported by the Indian Centre for Cultural Relations (ICCR) and WOMAD. All four events were in collaboration with overseas agents connecting with performers touring in the region. To underwrite the expenses, government arts festivals have access to funding from tax revenue and sponsorship partners not available to other types of producers.

The Manganiyar Seduction, the Anoushka Shankar Project and Zakir Hussain and the Masters of Rhythm and Movement all involve world-renowned performers who are able to pull audiences from outside of the Indian community. The success of such events lies in the producer's ability to connect with this audience. Without government financial support accessed through festival resources, many producers would not be able to present these events with ticket prices that suit this audience. Government agencies, as producers, have the access to resources to create commercially viable events, as the small population of the region limits ticket sales and the potential number of performances. Accessing this support gives government agencies a strategic advantage as producers.

The Auckland Arts Festival Trust receives core funding from Auckland Council through the Auckland Regional Amenities Funding Act and from Creative New Zealand. In addition to this funding, the executive teams leverage significant support from trusts, sponsorship and regional funding from the Auckland Regional Amenities Funding Board (ARAFB). The ARAFB is an independent statutory body that has been formed as a charitable status entity in order to receive annual funding from Auckland Council. Annually, Auckland Council makes a financial contribution to the ARAFB collected from local tax revenue. The Auckland Festival Trust received \$2,150,000 in 2011/12 and \$2,230,000 in 2012/13.

Making festivals commercially viable is a challenge; government funding allows festival producers a degree of financial security when booking performers who require long-term planning to secure contracts. The other side of this conundrum is that, potentially, trusts producing biennial events may have aspirations to increase the frequency of a festival to annual to secure their annual salaries. In the case of Auckland, the Council has publicly noted that that regional funding would not automatically increase if the frequency of the festival increases (Walsh, 2012, pp. 11-12).

The Auckland Arts Festival is part of the larger tourism and events economic development plan, as expressed by Chief Executive David Inns:

The Festival is a key cultural tourism driver for the region. Aside from facilitating the coming together of people, cultures and stories, the Festival takes very seriously its role in providing Auckland with a number of social and economic opportunities – opportunities for audiences to access the best local and international work, opportunities for New Zealand artists to get their work out of the rehearsal room and on to the world stage, and behind-the-scenes employment opportunities for over 200 local arts professionals and students every Festival. (Trust Board, 2013)

The ARAFB makes special mention of the Auckland Arts Festival in its 2011 five-year plan, adding add a bit of security for the producers.

In 2005, the Auckland Arts Festival featured Zakir Hussain and the Masters of Rhythm and Movement, and in 2011 the classical flute maestro Rajendra Prasanna. THE EDGE in 2007 launched the annual International Arts Season. During the five years of the Festival (2007-2011), two major Indian performances were showcased: the Anoushka Shankar Project in 2008 and The Manganiyar Seduction in 2011, a co-production with Auckland Arts Festival (THE EDGE, 2011). The International Arts Season has not been produced since 2011 when the management of THE EDGE shifted from Auckland City Council to the newly formed Auckland Council structure. The Auckland Arts Festival

Trust continues to produce the biennial festival. India was not represented in its 2013 programme.

Table 4. THE EDGE International Arts Season Performances (THE EDGE, 2011)

Year	Event	Location
2007	Royal Shakespeare Company: Shakespeare's <i>King Lear</i> and Chekhov's <i>The Seagull</i>	UK
	Miriam Margolyes one-woman show <i>Dickens' Women</i>	UK
	New York's Complexions Contemporary Ballet: Gala Programme	USA
2008	Guitarists John Williams (Australia) and John Etheridge (UK)	UK
	Indian sitar virtuoso Anoushka Shankar	India
	NYC contemporary dance company Mark Morris Dance Group in <i>Mozart Dances</i>	USA
	British theatrical innovator Steven Berkoff in <i>One Man</i>	UK
	Europa Galante, Italian masters of Baroque, in Vivaldi's <i>The Four Seasons</i>	Italy
	Spanish early music ensemble Hesperion XXI	Spain
2009	The Bridge Project: Tom Stoppard's new adaptation of Chekhov's <i>The Cherry Orchard</i> and Shakespeare's <i>The Winter's Tale</i>	UK /USA
	PUSH: A four-piece dance commissioned by Sadler's Wells	UK
	Harlequin, Servant of Two Masters: comedia dell'arte from Milano	Italy
2010	New York's Complexions Contemporary Ballet: <i>Rise</i>	USA
2011	The Manganiyar Seduction (with Auckland Festival of the Arts)	India
	Andreas Scholl, countertenor, specialising in Baroque music	Germany

Table 4 outlines the 15 performances THE EDGE International Arts Season produced between 2005 and 2011. The majority of events, 13 out of 15, represented European culture; the other two represented Indian culture. Both Indian events were booked through promoters in the UK: in 2011, The Manganiyar Seduction, and in 2008, the Anoushka Shankar Project. Both events have developed powerful global brands that are internationally marketed to white middle-class supporters of the performing arts, filling venues traditionally used for orchestras and opera.

The Anoushka Shankar Project ensemble stopped in Auckland on their world tour and performed a one-night concert to a sold out crowd at the Auckland Town Hall. The musical repertoire presented was not traditional classical Indian sitar as taught to Anoushka by her late father, Ravi Shankar. She was performing the music she is known for as a

contemporary world music performer. She presented an ensemble of western as well as Indian musicians blending Indian classical with a fusion of western styles. For the majority of the predominantly European audience, her ensemble was perceived as performing Indian classical music.

This example reflects one of the ways in which Auckland Council engages with Auckland audiences. Government agencies in Auckland support a range of events, from cultural schools performing free concerts in the park to ticketed classical concerts, theatre productions and festivals. The events vary in size and scope. Some of the events are part of free festivals and others are commercial concerts. What is a commonality is the role the Council plays as an institutional and formalised producer of ‘ethnicity’, controlling ‘Indian’ performance content and the engagement of the Indian communities.

The Auckland Council play an important role in producing major Auckland events. The delivery of government-produced events is determined by the size of the event. Auckland Tourism and Events Economic Development (ATEED) was launched in 2010 to produce major events, (those with over 50,000 attendees and considered significant), in association with other government agencies. Community Development, Arts and Culture (CDAC), a department launched in 2012, is responsible for the delivery of local and regional events (those with fewer than 50,000 attendees with a contribution to development) delivered through local community management.

ATEED was established to ‘improve New Zealand’s’ economic prosperity by leading the successful transformation of Auckland’s economy (ATEED, 2012a). ATEED’s strategic plan includes hosting major and signature events, such as the 2011 Rugby World Cup, as a means of boosting Auckland’s visitor growth and bringing tourism dollars into the local economy. This policy is designed to give support to events that “leverage” relationships that have the potential to develop partnerships in line with ATEED’S long-term economic development goals (ATEED, 2012b). ATEED’S relationship with key stakeholders emphasises a partnership investment approach in order for ATEED to achieve its economic development goals by collaborating with the private, government and not-for-profit sectors. ATEED’s purpose is to establish investment partnerships that include funding as well as providing expertise that will improve the quality of the service delivered (ATEED, 2010).

ATEED receives funding from local rates as well as through central government partnerships that include New Zealand Trade and Enterprise, New Zealand Tourism and the Ministry of Science and Innovation. Auckland events that benefit from this sit in the

‘major events’ portfolio, including the Rugby World Cup in 2011 as well as the V8 races, NZ Fashion Week and the large annual community festivals representing targeted local cultural communities: Pacific Islander (Pasifika Festival), Māori (Matariki), Chinese (Lantern Festival) and Indian (Diwali: Festival of Lights).

Diwali: Festival of Lights has gone from a minor event to becoming incorporated into a ‘major events’ portfolio that is dominated by sports, including V8 races and the bidding for other large events that will attract tourism. An expected shift in focus will be to support gay events, as the New Zealand Parliament, in 2013, approved same-sex marriage. Expectations are that this will become an economic development focus for destination tourism, creating large public displays, such as the very successful Sydney Mardi Gras, as well as weddings and more private festivities. This shift in economic development may mean there will be less support for other sectors as the government agencies focus on accessing this lucrative tourism market. The following case studies place the current government agencies as cultural producers in a historical context, in order to track the current, ongoing ‘festivalisation’ process and changes in how government agencies engage in events that represent local Indian cultural communities.

Case Study 9: The Festival of India

The following case study sets the stage for the first festival collaboration between a local Indian organisation and Auckland City Council. The Festival of India was, as an event, the first large public display of Indian culture in Auckland City. The festival was produced for ten years, between 1995 and 2005.

1995 Festival of India

The first Festival of India was produced in March 1995 by members of the Hare Krishna movement (officially, the International Society for Krishna Consciousness or ISKCON). Although this movement has temples in India, the majority are located around the globe, with centres in North America, Europe, Africa and Australasia. The movement, since the 1960s, has grown with a strong membership of people without Indian cultural heritage. The festival consisted of a large parade through Auckland’s major downtown shopping district, with religious images displayed on large floats and members of the ISKCON’s local Hare Krishna community performing devotional chanting, dancing and singing.

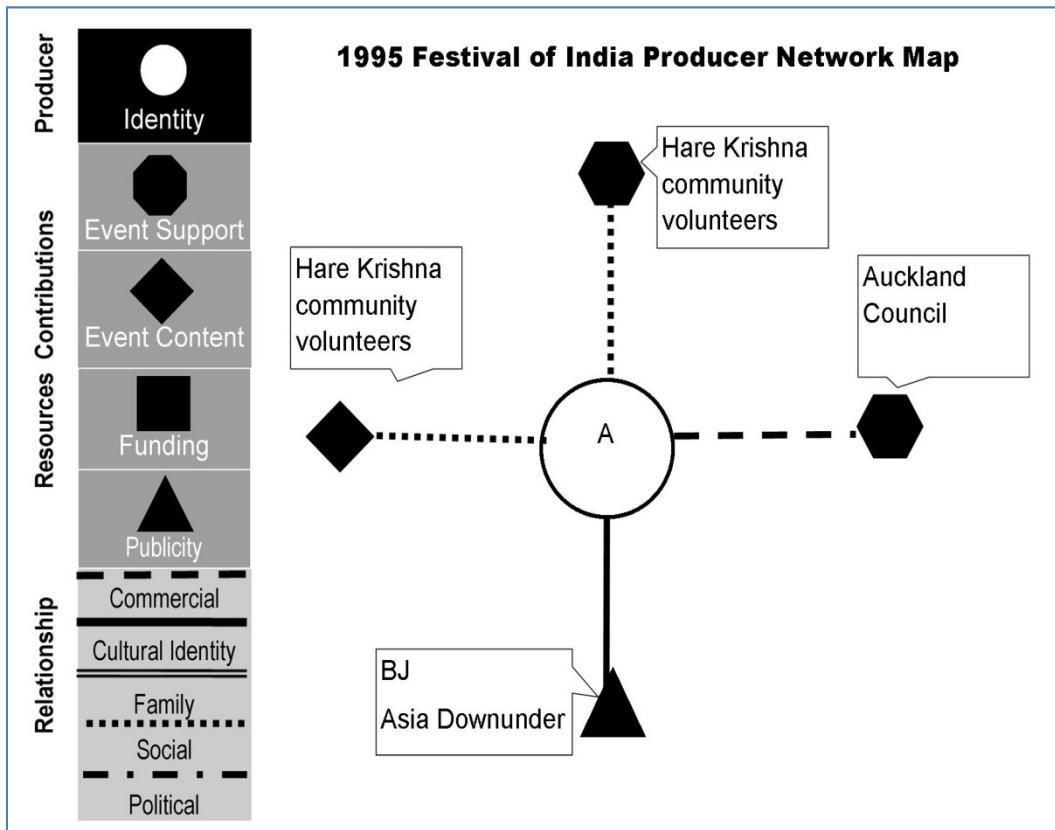


Figure 22. The 1995 ISKON Community Festival of India

“A” was the producer of this simple religious-community-produced event, as mapped out in Figure 22. The event content and support relied on social relationships from volunteers within the community. The community built the floats and provided the performers and decorations. “A” established a commercial relationship with Auckland Council in order to get the permits required for parades and street closures. As “A” assumed all costs (estimated at between \$4,000 and \$5,000), the map does not include a funding resource shape. “A” is of Indian cultural heritage and organised the event with help from members of the local ISKCON community to which he belonged. The 1995 Festival of India featured a big float that was paraded down Queen Street, ending up at Aotea Square. To create a float procession through the centre of Auckland proved to be very expensive, and involved moving temple relics as well as securing council permits. The event was free to the public. This was the first time such a large public display of Asian culture had been organised in Auckland.

The event established successful relationships between the producer, ISKON and the community, including the Auckland Council. “A” and “BJ”, a media reporter, were friends, indicated on the map by a social relationship. They are both from Indian cultural

backgrounds, although BJ is not affiliated with the Hare Krishna movement. As a public figure in the media, BJ was in a position of power to assist “A” in promoting the event.

BJ was a reporter on *Asia Downunder*, a weekly magazine-style television programme for and about the Asian population in New Zealand, publicly funded by Zealand on Air. The series featured a range of stories from news and issues to profiles, arts, sport, business and travel. *Asia Downunder* (formerly known as *Asia Dynamic*) began screening on TV One in 1994 and continued until 2009. Reporters were from Korean, Chinese and Indian cultural backgrounds. BJ, an Indo-Fijian, was the first Indian reporter. *Asia Downunder* was an advocate for the Asian performing arts, promoting and filming events, and creating an archive of events over their programming history.

1996 Festival of India

In 1996, BJ joined forces with “A”. BJ helped re-design the Festival of India, eliminating the big floats and focussing on creating an Indian celebration in Aotea Square. The celebration became Auckland’s first public outdoor festival representing Indian culture, attracting large crowds and gaining media attention. The budget became viable by attracting increased advertising revenue and sponsorship from local Indian businesses. As the event grew, so did the number of vendors, so that the costs improving the event quality, such as hiring better sound systems, were shared.

The successful relationship established between the producers and Auckland Council created opportunities to grow the event over the next 10 years. This event sets the stage for the shifting of a series of events produced within the community to public events supported by government agencies.

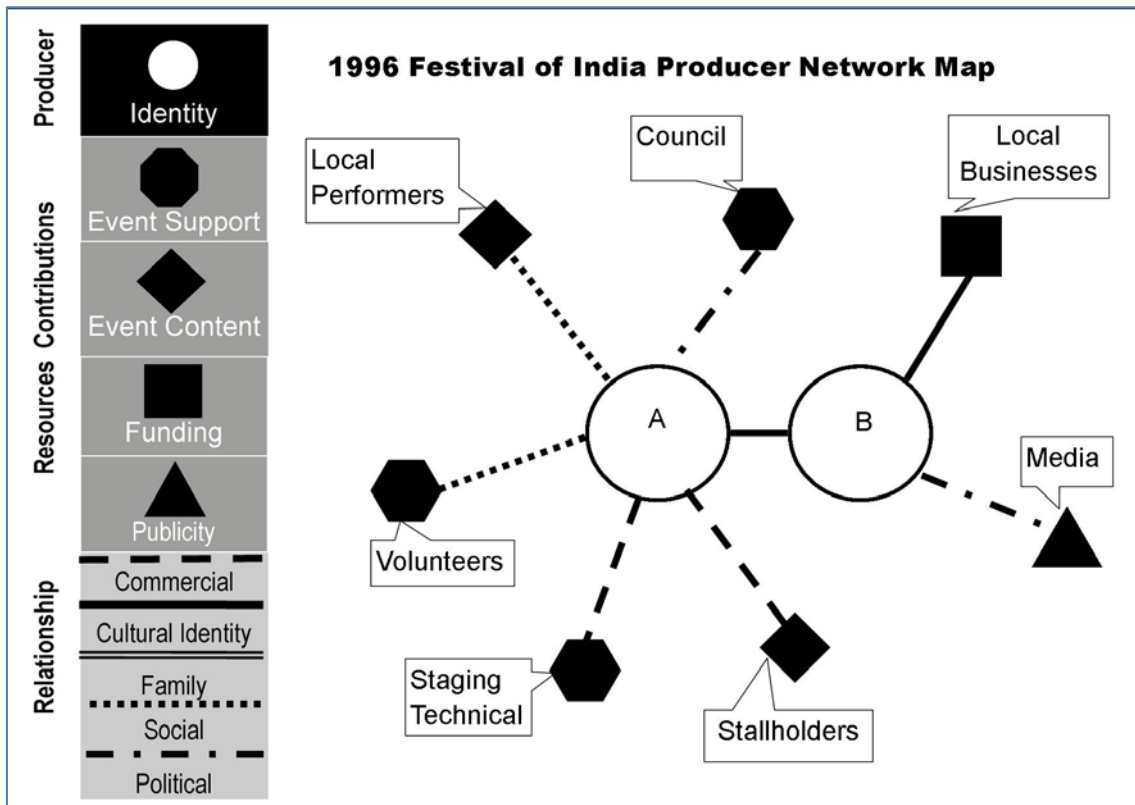


Figure 23. 1996 Festival of India: Producer Collaboration

Figure 23 illustrates the 1996 Festival of India, identifying co-producers “A” and “B” as two white in the middle of the map. “A” is the sole producer of the 1995 Festival of India, and “B” is BJ who has assumed a new role co-producing with his friend “A”. They both contribute different relationships that access different critical resources. “B” brings media relationships and publicity for the event through his role as a TV presenter. “A” brings event support through social relationships within the Hare Krishna temple, accessing volunteers for event support as well as musicians and dancers included in the event content. “A” negotiated the commercial relationships with the venue and technical support. “B” initiated commercial relationships with the stallholders, who paid fees to help cover venue and technical support. “B” accessed cultural identity relationships to secure sponsorships from local businesses.

“B” has political relationships with media in his role as the only Indian reporter in local mainstream TV programming. “B” held a certain amount of power in his media role as he had the ability to market the event as ‘authentic’ to communities outside of the Indian community. “A” and “B” formed a political relationship with Auckland City Council, which at this time needed to be seen collaborating with Asian communities. The 1996

Festival of India created a successful template for a sustainable festival that lasted for 10 years.

1997 Festival of India

By 1997, the Festival of India was established on the cultural event calendar. The 1997 Festival of India was able to take the opportunity to link into a far larger government produced event, the 1997 Festival of Asia, which was affected by the Festival of India as “B” had already booked Aotea Square the same Saturday as the Festival of Asia on neighbouring Elliott Street. The Festival of Asia organisers agreed to share their Indian performers on the Festival of India stage. This agreement between the Festival of India and Asia 2000’s Jennifer King was in alignment with Asia 2000’s education mission and cooperative approach in community partnerships and seen as of mutual benefit.

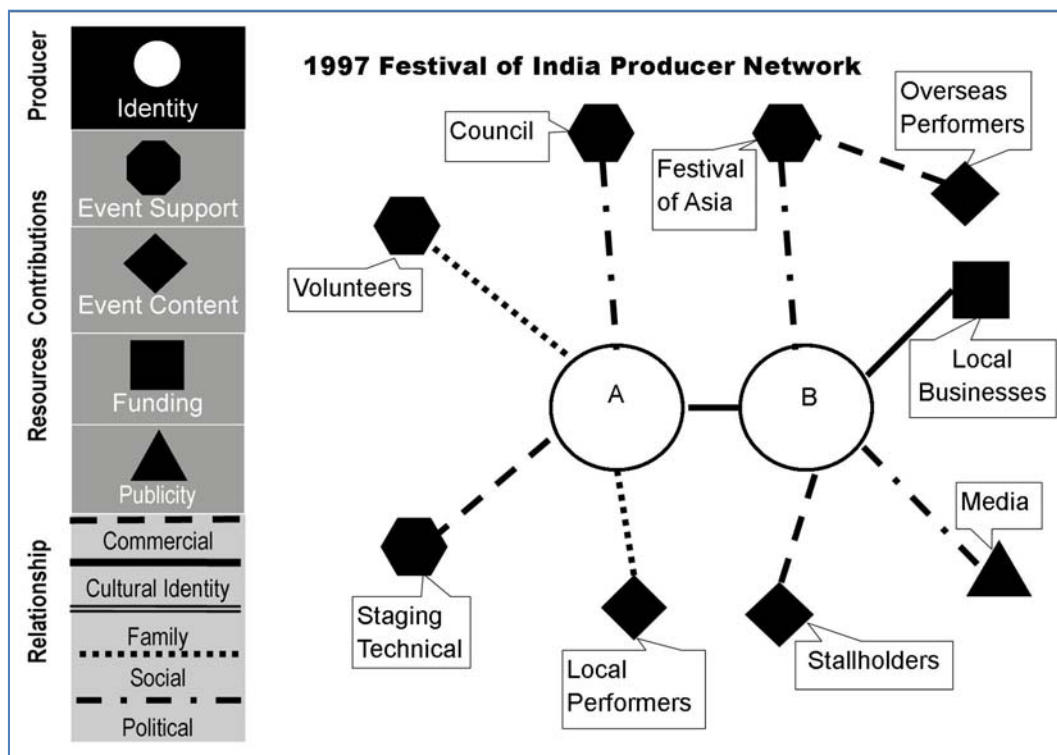


Figure 24. 1997 Festival of India with Festival of Asia Performers

Figure 24 identifies “A” and “B” as co-producers they are the same producers from the previous event example the 1996 Festival of India. The difference in this model from the previous 1996 event is the resources the Festival of Asia contributed to the 1997 Festival of India. Political relationships were established with the other festival, accessing overseas performers as well as additional media attention, and resulting in larger audience participation. Through political relationships with the Festival of Asia, “A” and “B” were

able to access international performers gratis as part of the Asia 2000 government funding policy that was intended to support local cultural communities. This opportunity opened up an indirect commercial relationship with the performers through the Festival of Asia, which received funding, thanks to Jennifer King's efforts, through the Indian government from the Indian Centre for Cultural Relations (ICCR) in New Delhi.

"B" had previous experience promoting the Indian cultural community with Jennifer King through his position at Asia Downunder. The Festival of India benefitted from being associated with the Festival of Asia as the smaller festival attracted media attention on TV, radio and newspapers as the whole area merged into an exciting event precinct. Over the 10 years that the Festival of India was produced, the event enabled access for many Indian amateur performers and cultural school teachers to raise their community profiles.

Many of the performers recorded in the 2005 Festival of India programme continue to teach and perform at community events in Auckland today including: Anuradha's School of Indian Dances, Kanan Deobhakta School of Dance, NZ Punjabi and 100% Desi Crew. Radio Tarana continues to be a major feature as MC and sponsor at many of the major festivals representing the local Indian communities. The Festival of India was held annually in Aotea Square, with support from Auckland Council, until the event's tenth anniversary. It was not able to continue after 2005 due to venue issues. In 2004, the parking lot under Aotea Square had been discovered to be structurally unsound. Leaking water was creating major structural issues, Engineer reports and the subsequent construction stopped all events on Aotea Square from 2006 until 2010. The first large festival to return to the location was the 2010 Diwali: Festival of Lights, as a trial event in preparation for the 2011 Rugby World Cup.

Case Study 10: 1997 Festival of Asia

In 1997, Asia 2000 produced a series of events across New Zealand under the "Festival of Asia" banner. A major series of events were produced in Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch, and included street festivals, Japanese puppet performances, Chinese art exhibitions, government and business forums and a school programme involving 300 schools. Smaller programmes were held in Hamilton, Dunedin, Wanganui, Palmerston North, Nelson and Rotorua (Asia 2000, 1997).

Jennifer King, the producer of Asia 2000, described producing the festival as a "hugely complicated event". The series of events involved engaging in multiple

relationships with local and international government agencies, as well as businesses partnerships and community organisations. The festival was very expensive and difficult to produce, as it depended on engaging artists and performers locally as well as from across Asia and coordinating their travel all over New Zealand over an eight-day period continue to support Asia: NZ programmes and events.



Figure 25. Festival of Asia Puppeteers from Rajasthan Performing at a Lunchtime Concert at the University of Auckland’s School of Music (Photograph by Alison Booth)

For the festival, the city of Auckland hosted many events that were supported by local schools, universities, libraries, museums and businesses, and included performances, concerts, book talks, political debates, art exhibits and specially designed school programmes. Figure 25 is a photograph of one of the many performances offered for free to the community; in this case, the University of Auckland’s School of Music hosted a lunchtime performance of Rajasthani puppeteers.

The most public of the events was Auckland’s Festival of Asia. Asia: NZ, with the help of Auckland City, closed Elliott Street and filled it with performers and vendors, as well as showcasing artists and performers inside Elliott Street’s newly opened shopping mall and at the Festival of India in Aotea Square. Local artists and performers had the opportunity to be showcased alongside talent from overseas representing cultures across Asia.

SPONSORS

Asia 2000 would like to thank the following for their generous support:

Air New Zealand	Japan Information and Cultural Centre
ANZ Bank	Kala Ranjani
Aotea Centre	Kit Wong Consultant Ltd.
Asia Vision	Korea Foundation
Atrium on Elliot	Lion Nathan
Auckland City Council	Malaysia Airlines
Auckland City Promotions	Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade
Auckland Multi-Cultural Society	National Arts Council of Singapore
Bell Gully	N.C.C. New Zealand Ltd.
Buddle Findlay	N.Z. Chinese Martial Arts International Wu-Shu Council
Canterbury Employers' Chamber of Commerce	New Zealand Immigration Service
Capital Development Agency	New Zealand Poetry Society
Cathay Pacific	New Zealand Schools Debating Council
Centra Auckland	Newspapers in Education at <i>The Dominion, The Press, The Evening Post, The Waikato Times, Timaru Herald</i>
Challenge Company	North Shore Childrens Art Club
Chinese Weekly	Pakuranga Community Centre
Christchurch City Council	Plaza International Hotel
Colwall Property Investment Ltd	Reuters newsagency
Embassy of Japan	Royal Thai Embassy
Embassy of the People's Republic of China	Russell McVeagh McKenzie Bartleet and Co
Embassy of the Philippines	Singapore Airlines
Embassy of the Republic of Indonesia	Singapore High Commission
Embassy of the Republic of Korea	Singapore Tourist Promotion Board
Gallagher Group Ltd	Sport Auckland
Garuda Indonesia	Taipei Economic and Cultural Office
High Commission for India	Te Puni Kokiri
High Commission for Malaysia	Thai Airways
HongkongBank	Thai Tourism Authority
Hong Kong Tourist Association	Trust Bank Canterbury Community Trust
Hutt City Council	United States Information Service
Hyatt Regency Auckland	Visits and Ceremonial Office, Dept. of Internal Affairs
Indian Council for Cultural Relations	Wellington City Council
International Property Management Ltd.	
Japan Foundation	

Asia 2000 would also like to thank the many individuals and Asian cultural organisations who assisted in the Festival of Asia. They include:

Asian Communities of Auckland	Leena School of Dance
Asian Communities of Christchurch	Mabuhay Cultural Group
Asian Communities of Wellington	Nepalese New Zealand Friendship Society
Auckland Malaysian Society	Qiu Bingjun
Karamjit Bharti	Mike Roberts
John Buckland	Gavin Romyne
John Daly-Peoples	Morrin Rout
Epsom Girls' Grammar School Chinese Cultural Group	Judy Turner, organiser of "Sewing Together"
Lee Harris Royal	United Asian Association
Hwa Hsia Society of New Zealand	Vietnamese Child and Family Protection Group
International Movement for Tamil Culture N.Z.	Defyd Williams
Korean Society of N.Z.	"Women on Air"
Kanan Deobhakta Dance Co	Zou Lunlun

Figure 26. 1997 Festival of Asia Programme: Acknowledgement List of Sponsors and Supporters

Figure 26 is a copy of the inside cover of a programme brochure produced for the Festival of Asia sponsored by Asia 2000 (Asia 2000, 1997). This document includes a list of 'Sponsors and Supporters' that serves as a record of the vast extent of those contributing to the series of events. Asia 2000's ability to access this level of engagement between government, councils, businesses, educational institutions and professionals was due to the new government policies being initiated by Helen Clark. This clearly demonstrates how the political climate of this period of New Zealand history influenced the public profile of Asian cultures through the arts.

The development of cultural policies was connected to global developments that placed value on the growing creative industry sectors. The festival served as a public relations forum to raise New Zealand's political and economic stature with countries across Asia. The benchmarks for success go far beyond the scope of the festival, as they are gauged by the future sustainable business development and government alliances between the major Asian countries and New Zealand.

The festival successfully established government business and political partnerships with countries in Asia, developing relationships between key stakeholders that have set the stage for current government agency-produced events representing Asian cultural communities across New Zealand. The extensive list of sponsorship engagement, noted in Figure 26 above, included government agencies, businesses and community organisations. Partnerships were targeted with international governments and international and local businesses, as well as between local councils and their host communities that continue today. For example, the Hong Kong Bank (now HSBC) provided major funds for the Festival of Asia, and has continued as a major supporter of Auckland's Lantern Festival since the first event in 2000. Various governments across Asia provided funding and organised sponsors to support the cultural activities provided by the overseas artists and performers (Asia 2000, 1997):

- Singapore sent Malay, Chinese and Indian musicians and dancers sponsored by the Singapore Arts Council, and also an Indian flower garland maker, a Malay coconut leaf artist and a Chinese finger painter sponsored by the Singapore Tourist Promotion Board and Singapore Airlines.
- South Korea presented samul nori drummers sponsored by the Korea Foundation.
- China sent two woodblock artists sponsored by Cathay Pacific and the Embassy of the People's Republic of China.

- India sent a troupe of puppeteers from Rajasthan sponsored by the ICCR.
- Japan was represented by the Takenoko Puppet Theatre sponsored by the Japan Foundation, and an ink mural artist sponsored by Air New Zealand.
- Indonesian Batak minstrels were sponsored by Garuda Airlines.
- Malaysia was represented by a batik painter and roti (bread) demonstrations sponsored by Malaysian Airlines and the Hyatt Regency.

International media was covered by Reuters, and also mentioned as media sponsors are major New Zealand newspapers as well as the Chinese newspapers. Asian Vision, listed as a sponsor, produced episodes of Asia Dynamic (formally Asia Downunder), the publicly funded TV programme television show that BJ was a reporter for, and that reflected the pan-Asian content of the programme.

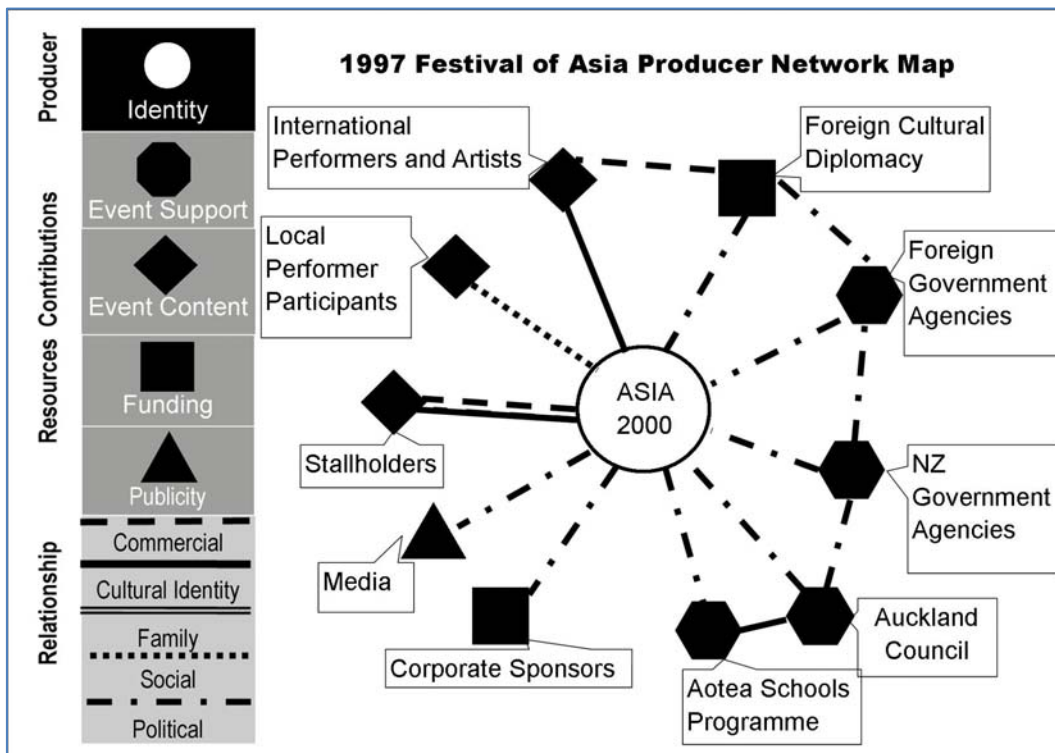


Figure 27. 1997 Festival of Asia Produced by Asia 2000

Figure 27 illustrates the complexity of relationships required by Asia 2000 to produce the 1997 Festival of Asia. Political relationships dominate the access to resources. The majority of the connecting relationship lines are political. Political relationships connect local, national and international government agencies as well as media agencies and sponsors. The high level of financial support required to run this series of free events

depended on strong political relationships and the resources accessed through the various government cultural diplomacy funding and commercial enterprises.

Local and foreign government departments were necessary to access performers, funding and publicity and large business offered support in exchange for strategic business growth in New Zealand. Cultural diplomatic agencies from across Asia provided funding for a variety of overseas performers and artists. Local businesses provided accommodation, accounting and legal support.

Across New Zealand, over 300 schools participated in special festival activities that focussed on the study of Asia, which has been in 1994 incorporated as a component in the nationwide school curriculum. Sally Markham, as manager of the Aotea Schools programme, developed a vibrant youth-oriented arts programme. This programme, which ran for 12 years, gained Markham a Queen's Service Medal, in 2006, for her contribution to the arts. The Aotea Outreach Programme managed the Festival of Asia activities for primary and intermediate school children over a four-day period, engaging 1,500 students. The events included the Rajasthani puppet theatre, local Chinese martial arts (wushu), a Japanese woodblock demonstration, and Batak minstrels from Sumatra, as well as the children making origami cranes to send to Hiroshima for memorial services. Asia: NZ continue in their role as cultural advocates. They have developed a very important open-access website that holds reports they have funded, school resources, funding information, and newsletters that monitor business, education and cultural development between New Zealand and countries across Asia.²⁰

The complex nature of this festival created opportunities to bring meaningful cultural experiences to new audiences and communities. The festival created opportunities for overseas artists and performers to engage with New Zealanders, creating what was perceived as authentic cultural experience by the participants as well as the performers. Such programmes can act as sites for cultural advocacy, highlighting the positive and 'colourful' features of the community to the wider public as well as building community links between diverse cultural groups.

Case Study 11: 1997 T.N. Krishnan and N. Rajam Concert Tour

The following case study analyses another historical event produced in 1997, a concert tour co-produced by government agencies and an Indian community organisation. This case

²⁰ Asia: NZ provides NCEA teaching and learning resources to support studies of Asia in schools and align with assessment standards. For more information see <http://www.asianz.org.nz/our-work/educating-asia/asia-curriculum/ncea-resources>.

study analyses a collaborative production model that grew out of innovative cooperation between universities, community and government departments. These events were produced after the Festival of Asia, although in the same year. Government policies that have been previously discussed – Aotea Centre governance changes, government support and appreciation for the arts and the shift of focus to Asia – all contributed to the success of this event.

In 1994, the late sarod maestro Ashok Roy²¹, a disciple of the legendary Ali Akbar Khan, was invited by the University of Auckland to teach workshops and perform concerts of Indian classical music. Workshops were presented by the university and were open to students as well as the local community. The academic involved in producing these events had a long-standing involvement with Hindustani classical music and culture. This forged new partnerships between the local Indian community and the University of Auckland.

The Ashok Roy events attracted the interest of the local Indian classical music aficionados. They were professionals, doctors and accountants, many of whom had migrated to New Zealand from India in the late 1960s. Arising from this engagement, a new set of production relationships developed that elevated Hindustani music to New Zealand's 'main stage' for several years. This relationship involved the university's ethnomusicology programme, together with 10 local professional Indian families.

In 1995, a non-profit charitable trust, Kalaranjani, was established, producing a series of classical Indian concerts and workshops until its disestablishment in 1999. A critical success was the ethnomusicology programme's established relationships with the Aotea Centre and local, as well as international, arts funding bodies. These relationships created a unique environment for Indian classical performances supported by the desire of Kalaranjani members to collaborate outside their specific cultural communities. The success of such projects was only economically possible through access to government funding, subsidies for concert halls and free access to skilled arts managers.

New Zealand universities are government-funded; government policy does not allow university departments to access community arts funding that, at the time, was intended for community arts organisations. Because of the community-institution relationship, Kalaranjani was able to produce a series of major concerts and workshops during the period of its existence, 1995- 1999.

²¹ The sarod, a fretless lute, is an instrument in the north Indian classical music tradition.

The Aotea Centre and Kala Ranjani proudly present

India's Top Violinists

*Padmabhushan Prof. TN Krishnan
& Padmashri Dr N Rajam
accompanied by Vinod Lele, Tabla &
S Suresh, Mridangam*

Together for the first time in New Zealand performing an exquisite tapestry of North and South Indian music.



भारतीय INDIAN
सांस्कृतिक COUNCIL FOR
सम्बन्ध CULTURAL
परिषद RELATIONS



creative
nz

Aotea Centre Sunday 13 April, 7.30pm
ASB Theatre, Aotea Centre



Tickets \$15 Concession/Students/Groups of 6 or more
\$20 Adult Book at Ticketek or phone 307 5000
(transaction fee may apply)

1997

Figure 28. India's Top Violinists (Poster by Alison Booth)

Figure 28 is the simple poster created for the Auckland T.N. Krishnan and N. Rajam concert duet. This concert was considered the highlight of Kalaranjani’s role as producer, and included a multi-city concert and workshop tour by these two renowned classical Indian violinists. The poster identifies the partnerships forged with government agencies and institutions outside of the Indian cultural communities.

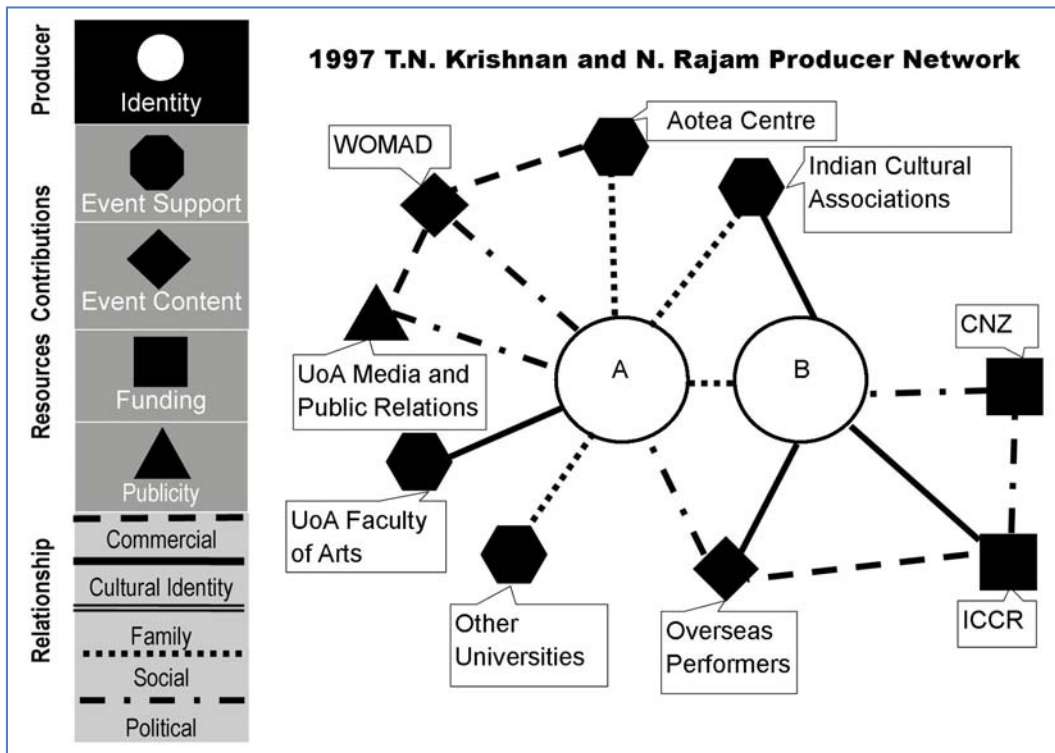


Figure 29. T.N. Krishnan and N. Rajam Kalaranjani Tour: Community, Government and Academic Institution Collaborations

Figure 29 identifies two producers: “A”, an academic, and “B”, a cultural society. “A” teaches ethnomusicology at the University of Auckland. “A” has access to all of the academy resources, including professional public relations. His cultural identity relationship is linked to the academy, creating social relationships with other academics in universities around New Zealand. “A” has a social relationship with “B”. “B” is a cultural society (Kalaranjani) sharing a cultural identity relationship with the performers, the Indian government (ICCR), as well as other cultural associations. “B” has charitable trust status that accesses political relationships with funding agencies that “A” is not able to access through his position as a university academic. Charitable trust status qualifies “B” to apply for Creative New Zealand (CNZ) funding.

“A” has social relationships with the venue (Aotea Centre) and political relationships with WOMAD. The University of Auckland has an existing sponsorship relationship with WOMAD and although T.N. Krishnan and N. Rajam were not WOMAD performers, their logo featured on the poster. Commercial relationships were established between the other academics and the performers who contributed funds to produce concerts and workshops in their own localities.

The T.N. Krishnan and N. Rajam Auckland events were supported by audiences that were approximately 60 percent from the Indian communities and 40 percent from the European communities. The workshops were supported by a higher level of interested musicians from the European community, which is not surprising as there was a high participation of university staff and students. Despite the success of most Kalaranjani productions, by 2000 the Trust had been disestablished due to changes in personnel, and vision, as well as in government funding policy and the way financial support was distributed for what are referred to as ‘cultural performances’.²²

The government shifted focus to developing cultural festivals. WOMAD, The Lantern Festival, Pasifika and Diwali: Festival of Lights became major cultural showcases. The New Zealand Music Commission was established during this period, and continues today to define the cultural representation of New Zealand music identity. Asian cultural identity was not factored into New Zealand’s national music identity. The three years of seeding money made available in 2000 through Creative New Zealand for developing the creative industry sector was not renewed. By 2004, government funding was less available across all of the creative industries as the government shifted its focus to growing the sports and tourism industry sectors.

This shift was especially noticeable after New Zealand won the bid to host the 2011 Rugby World Cup in 2005. Time and money started to be put into Auckland Council’s ability to manage the largest event it had ever dreamed of hosting. By 2007, Creative New Zealand funding for Asian cultural events was no longer available at all and the Aotea Centre Schools Outreach programme was discontinued as government funding shifted to other sectors and profit-oriented business models. THE EDGE was focussing on large commercial shows and conferences and the identified structural issues that had to be

²² In New Zealand, ‘cultural performances’ are generally amateur productions or festival showcases featuring cultures understood by the majority of the community to be ‘foreign’, that is, ‘other’. They are most commonly presented by government and educators as a pathway to promote multiculturalism and to provide a sense of inclusion for minority cultures. The Indian population constitutes the country’s second largest Asian ethnicity and third largest minority.

remedied in Aotea Square. Helen Clark lost her position as Prime Minister in 2008, giving up politics in New Zealand and taking up a post at the United Nations. The new government was National-led government, with a more conservative focus and an increase in profit-driven business models.

Creative New Zealand Funding was replaced in 2007 by the Creative Community Scheme, locally administered by local Councils, offers a maximum of \$2,000 to local community arts organisations. The 2013 Arts Council New Zealand *Music Discussion Paper* recognises that “New Zealand’s many migrant communities have been a key source of the great diversity of our music sector. For these communities their music can provide a key point of connection, between their own cultural tradition, and mainstream New Zealand audiences” (Arts Council of New Zealand Toi Aotearoa, 2013, p. 6). The report, however, demonstrates the power of government agencies to assign ‘value’ to musical traditions and to define their place in New Zealand culture. By grouping together, taonga pūoro²³, brass band music, bagpipe music, and Hindustani music, the report asserts an inappropriate similarity and similar economic needs, by ignoring the long histories and established (and often professional) presence of the first three of these traditions in New Zealand. In contrast, the Indian communities must continue to look, to India, for professional training and performance, needs not met by the \$2,000 cap. For example, under the 1997 Creative New Zealand Community Access Scheme, the government provided Kalaranjani with \$15,000 for performances and teaching workshops by the two leading classical Indian violinists, T.N. Krishnan and N. Rajam, in this Case Study. In doing so, the government established a parody between Indian and European classical musics, which is missing from this 2013 report.

Three Case Studies: Recent Council Productions

The following case studies demonstrate various types of events and partnerships that Auckland Council has recently supported as a producer of cultural festivals. The snapshot identified five events produced by government agencies within council-supported festivals. Smaller free events included two fusion concerts, Sargam in 2011 and Raag Time in 2012, both featuring local musicians as part of Auckland City’s Music in Parks programme, and a concert of Indian classical flute by Rajendra Prasanna, presented as part of the Auckland Arts Festival 2011 and co-produced with Spirit of India (Australia). The large events

²³ Taonga pūoro are traditional Māori musical instruments.

produced were a commercial performance, *The Manganiyar Seduction*, co-produced by Auckland Arts Festival 2011 and International Arts Season with a UK artistic producer, and the annual Diwali: Festival of Lights, co-produced by Auckland Council and Asia: NZ.

Case Study 12: 2011-12 Music in Parks

Sargam was a concert produced by Auckland Council as part of the free Music in Parks summer concert series for 2011. Music in Parks has been produced in Auckland City by the Auckland Council since 1993 (Auckland Council, 2011). Local performers have opportunities to be paid to play at free events in the parks around the city in band rotundas, on stages and in gardens. Sargam represents the first time that Indian culture was featured in the Music in Parks series, in its eighteenth season. Sargam performed in the Wintergardens situated in Auckland, which is managed by Auckland Council. This example provides an introduction to the many roles Auckland Council plays as an event producer.

This is a relatively simple event that opens up further discussion on festival stakeholders and the complex nature of political relationships. In 2011, Music in Parks included four different music series designed to attract different audiences. Sargam was featured as part of the ‘Culture Garden’, promoted as a series that presented a range of niche genres that “promised to compel and inspire” (Auckland Council, 2011).

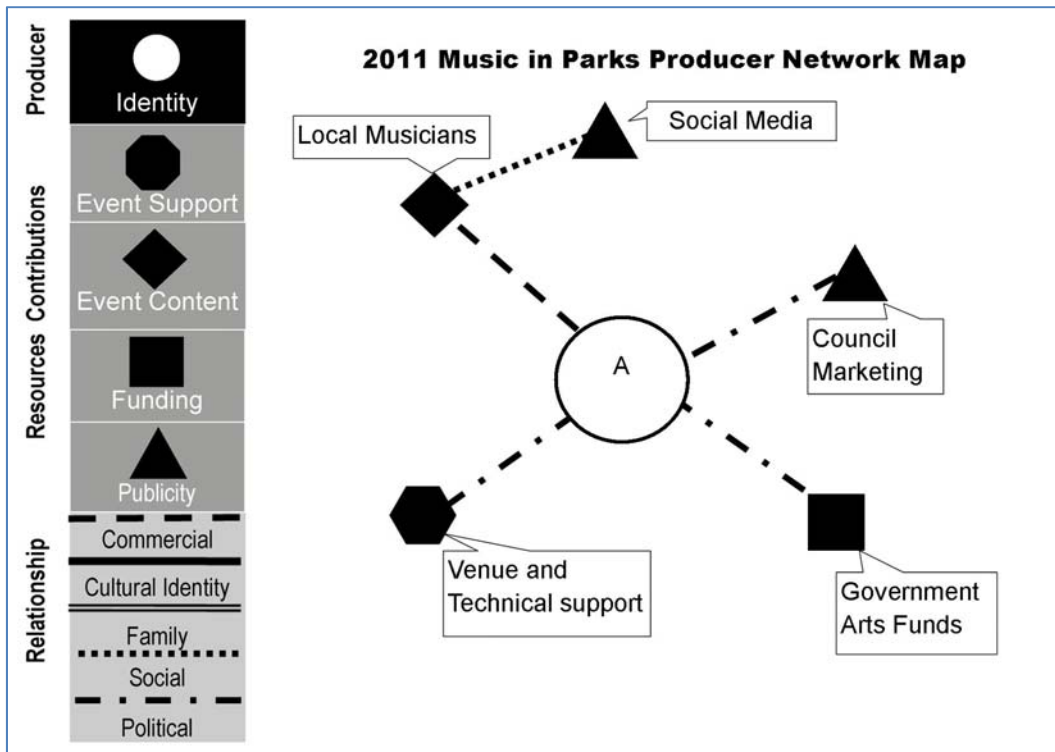


Figure 30. 2011 Music in Parks Inclusion of Indian Performance Content

In Figure 30, producer “A” was hired by Auckland Council as an event manager, with the production of Music in Parks as part of their work portfolio. “A” has produced this event over the past several years and has access to resources – venue, funding and marketing – through the political relationships inherent in his job. The Council has the power to allocate funds and resources to produce events that satisfy cultural policy agendas. The cultural music school director is known to “A” as he regularly performs at Diwali: Festival of Lights with “A’s” brother, who is in the band, and his students. The Council’s promotional material states this is the first time that Indian musicians have been featured in a summer arts series. The relationship between producer and performers is commercial as they were paid to perform. There is also a political element as the cultural school director works hard promoting himself and maintaining a relationship with Council as an ‘authentic’ cultural expression of India. The Sargam performance included a fusion of Indian classical, contemporary Indian, Bollywood, Sufi and European music. For the success of the event, music performed needed to appeal to an audience of diverse ages and cultures.

Before Sargam took to the stage, a well-known local jazz group performed, attracting a middle-class audience of non-Indian cultural identity. Many stayed for Sargam as they were enjoying a summer afternoon picnic of wine and food. The Sargam

performers also attracted an audience from friends, students and their families. In total, the audience numbered around 200: half non-Indians who came for the jazz and stayed on, and half Indians who came for Sargam in particular.

The following year, in 2012, Music in Parks featured Raag Time, another Indian performance. They were promoted as support for the jazz quintet Strange Fruit, led by a UK artist who migrated to New Zealand in 1973. Strange Fruit was promoted as follows: “This is jazz to go with your favourite wine, easy on the ear and music to entice concertgoers. Strange Fruit have been together for more than a decade and audiences are in for a treat. Supported by Raag Time” (Eventfinder, 2012). Raag Time featured a talented keyboard player who had recently migrated to Auckland from Goa. The band included keyboard, tabla, bass guitar, Indian violin, and female and male vocals. Some of the musicians had performed the previous year with Sargam.

Raag Time presented India in an uncharacteristic way for Auckland Council. The concert was a jazz concert with an ‘Indian flavour’, not uncommon of jazz performances in India, but unusual in a cultural environment that traditionally has marketed India as a cultural ‘other’. The positioning of local Indian performers in a jazz context potentially opens new opportunities for the performers.

Sargam in 2011 and Raag Time in 2012 are the only two performances featuring Indian musicians that have been presented in twenty years of Music in Parks. In 2013, Auckland Council launched a new festival, South Side, the events centring in South Auckland and aimed at engaging the local and specifically Pacific Island and Māori youth market. In 2013, neither the South Side Festival nor Music in Parks included local, national or international performances representing India, or for that matter, any representation of Asian cultures.

Case Study 13: 2011 The Manganiyar Seduction

The Manganiyar Seduction is a theatrical musical show that has been highly successful in arts festivals globally. The show is the creation of Roysten Abel, a UK-based theatre director, originally from Kerala in South India. The highly publicised Auckland Arts Festival and THE EDGE International Arts Season event was a musical theatre piece representing folk elements of Rajasthan. The Manganiyars are hereditary musicians of western Rajasthan and one of the dependent castes of the Rajputs, who are the hereditary rulers of the region. Manganiyars are Muslims (Sufis) who provide musical services at the

time of births and weddings as well as important life cycle events of the Hindu patron families (Chaudhuri, 2009).

The show was described as a “theatrical spectacle and a joyous, musical feast... a dazzling concert” of Rajasthani music presented in a visually seductive set inspired by Amsterdam’s red light district and the Hawa Mahal or ‘Palace of the Winds’ in Jaipur” (Auckland Arts Festival, 2011). The Amsterdam bordello setting, with turbaned musicians playing a variety of exotic instruments, created an event that conjured up western notions of the exotic culture of India, images embedded in orientalism (Henderson & Weisgrau, 2007; Said, 1978).

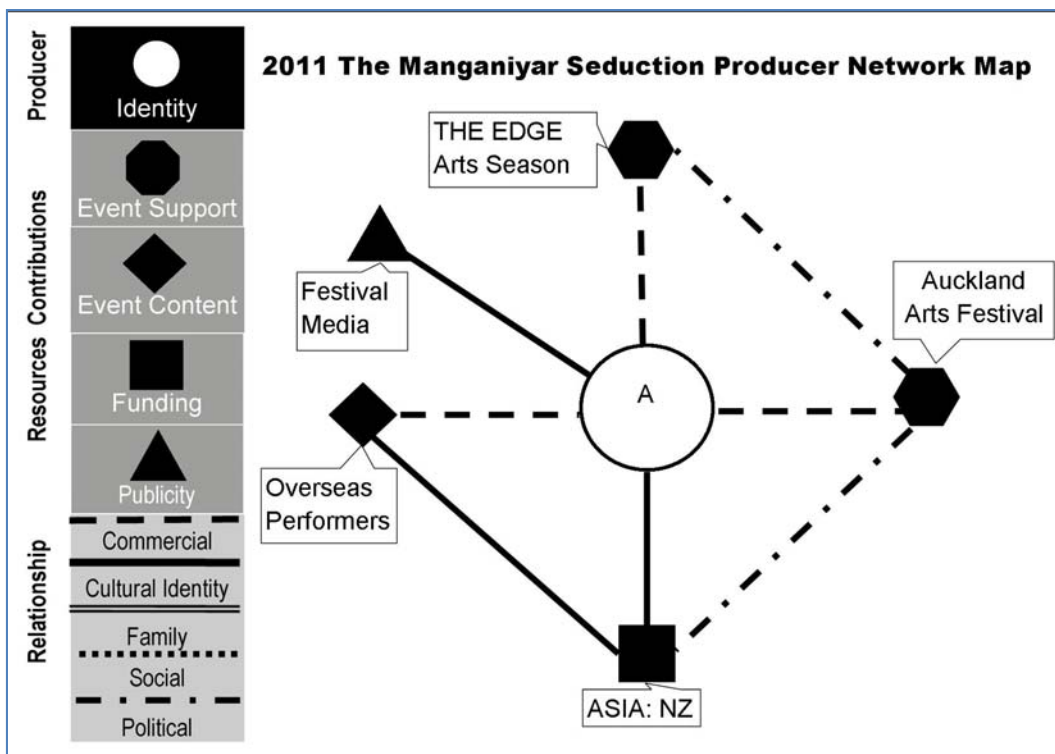


Figure 31. The Manganiyar Seduction Performances in the Auckland Arts Festival

Figure 31 places Roysten Abel as “A” in the middle of the map as producer. Asia: NZ has a political relationship with Auckland Arts Festival. Asia: NZ contributed funding to Auckland Arts Festival to assist with the production of “A’s” innovative theatre piece. “A” has a commercial relationship with his performers. They are on a global tour presenting his work in major festivals around the world. “A” is an excellent communicator and self-marketer, and has received funding support accessed through cultural identity relationships. “A” has a commercial relationship with Auckland Arts Festival and THE EDGE International Arts Season, who will be paying the troupe for its performances.

Auckland Arts Festival and THE EDGE International Arts Season share a political relationship that create networks that link the two organisations into local and international performing arts resources, including public relations networks that open up access to mainstream media. The Manganiyar Seduction's powerful global reputation creates multiple local media interest. The festivals have their own marketing departments that "A" could take full advantage of. The event was well placed through advertising as well as media promotion. The event featured on television and on the radio as well as in the New Zealand Herald and Indian newspapers. Since its 2006 debut, The Manganiyar Seduction has become a major attraction for organisers of arts festivals across Europe and more recently, the USA.

The Auckland Arts Festival's Artistic Director described the show as follows: "This event is one of the hottest tickets on the world circuit... and a wonderful way to introduce New Zealanders to great music... It would also provide a rare chance for New Zealand's Indian community to experience great art from their homeland" (Raman, 2011). This statement reflects the festival's hope that the performance would pull in the Indian community, a task that the festival and venue have historically found difficult. The artistic director/producer of his work, as mentioned above, may be viewed as 'Euro-centric', and exploits the oriental notions of the 'East' as a marketing tool to specifically attract audiences of European cultural heritage.

The Manganiyar Seduction played for three nights, filling the 2,700-seat Civic Theatre. On opening night, the audience included about 5 percent from the Indian communities. This number was reflected in the other two performances. The show was in fact competing with a concert produced by local Indian entrepreneurs: Asha Bhosle, a very famous Bollywood playback singer, was performing at the Vodafone Events Centre. That concert sold over 3,500 tickets and attracted an Indian audience, with the 'other' faces sprinkled through the stadium making up about 2 percent of the audience. This event is discussed further in Chapter 4.

Comments from those members of the Indian community who attended The Manganiyar Seduction said they "loved it", and described the performance as a real theatrical experience, with amazing musicians and an interesting variety of instruments. Comments included observations that the lack of the Indian community in the audience confirms that Indians only go to Bollywood performances. Those who did not attend the event and with whom I spoke at the Asha Bhosle concert expressed that the Manganiyar

show contained nothing new or memorable and they had already seen Rajasthani musicians in India.

Case Study 14: Diwali: Festival of Lights

The final case studies in this chapter analyse the history and production practices of Auckland's annual Diwali: Festival of Lights, a 2002 creation of Jennifer King, the cultural director of Asia: NZ. Since 2004, Diwali: Festival of Lights has been co-produced by Asia: NZ in conjunction with city councils in localities around New Zealand. The festival has become a major event in the Auckland Council portfolio, and is the most visible representation of Indian culture in New Zealand.

After the success of Auckland's Lantern Festival, launched in 2000 and representing Chinese culture, Jennifer King wanted to create an Indian version of the Lantern Festival incorporating the theme of lights with music, dance, food and crafts, involving local Indian communities as well as bringing artists from India (Samant, 2010). This was the birth of Diwali: Festival of Lights, a community event that has become a distinctive placement of cultural significance for members of the Indian communities, old and new, as they confront other New Zealanders in a cultural setting juxtaposing culture through ethnicity (Johnson, 2007).

Traditionally, in India and throughout the diaspora, 'Diwali' is referred not as a 'festival' but as a 'puja'. 'Puja' is a Sanskrit word that means to worship honour and show devotion to the divine by making offerings at home or in communal gatherings at the temple. 'Diwali puja' is an ancient Hindu religious practice that comes in a variety of regional forms. The common denominator is that the 'puja' is enacted largely in homes and neighbourhoods and by local temple communities.

More recently, Diwali had been referred to as a 'festival' and a public celebration for Hindus and non-Hindus alike. Diwali has evolved, over the past couple of decades, from private and community-centred celebrations into large public events and festivals following the global expansion of the Indian diaspora. Large government-produced festivals are held annually in major cities, including London, Sydney, Toronto, Edinburgh and Auckland. Diwali has become a showcase for Indian culture, typically including music and dance, fashion, food, crafts and fireworks as a way of recognising Indian culture within the larger community.

It has been argued that Diwali has the ability, all at once, to express social identity, unity, sustainability and while showcasing the diversity of Indian culture, thus creating a festivity that symbolises all that is 'colourful' about the Indian diaspora (Carnegie & Smith, 2006). In this way, Diwali transforms ethnicity into a cultural showcase for the growing gaze of the local non-Indian participants as well as out-of-town visitors (Wood, 2009).

In New Zealand, this relatively participatory ritual within the Indian community has been transformed into an annual presentational festival in many of the larger cities. It has become not only a public performance of Indian culture, but also a public demonstration of governmental acknowledgement of and support for NZ's Indian community (Johnson, 2007, 2010). Diwali festivals fall into two governance categories: those organised by local Indian community organisations and those organised by city councils and other government-sponsored agencies. Major differences in the size and scope of the events result from these distinct governance structures, affecting organisational structure, participants and/or vendor fees, the size and nature of the audience, and the number of international and local performers.

In 1998, members of the Auckland Indian Association started celebrating Diwali more publicly at the Mahatma Gandhi Centre, in an event featuring cultural performances:

It was not a festival – it was a concert with performances of dance and music by members of the local community for the local community. The 'bazaar' is for buying new clothes for the celebration, not something part of the Diwali festivities. Diwali festivities are private. We were there long before this liaison with Council and Asia: NZ. (BJ, personal communication, 6 July 2011)

Diwali celebrations continued being produced by the Auckland Indian Association at the Gandhi Centre until 2002, when the event incorporated government agencies in the role of producer.

Diwali Festivals in Auckland, 2002- 2012

In 2002, Asia 2000 launched Diwali: Festival of Lights in Auckland and Wellington. The festivities ran over two weeks, starting with a one-day festival in Wellington on October 19, followed by a schools programme in Wellington and Auckland, and ending with a one-day festival in Auckland on October 26. The Wellington event was held at the Town Hall and Civic Square, with a public and schools programme utilising international performers at Te Papa, the national museum of New Zealand. The venue for the Auckland Diwali

Festival was the Mahatma Gandhi Centre, with a public and schools programme at the War Memorial Museum (King, 2002).

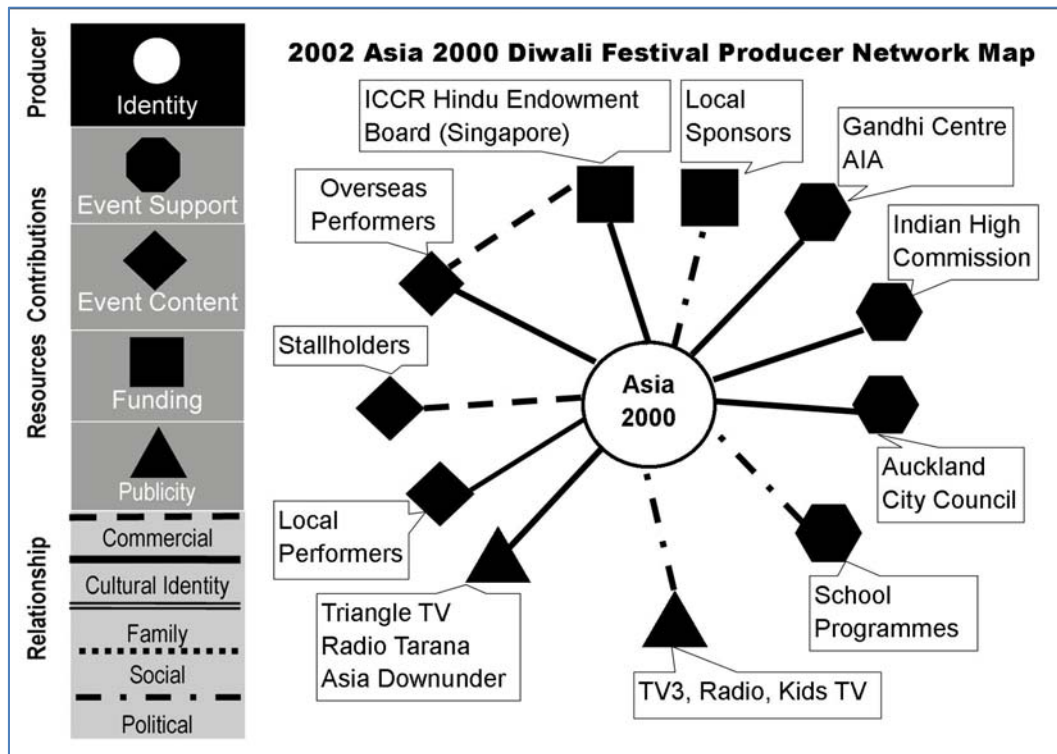


Figure 32. 2002 The Asia 2000 Diwali: Festival of Lights First Event

Figure 32 illustrates the relationships Asia 2000, as event producer, accessed to acquire the essential event resources in the first year of Auckland’s Diwali: Festival of Lights. Funding was accessed through the Indian Centre for Cultural Relations (ICCR) with the support of the Indian High Commission in Wellington to bring a dance troupe from Nagaland and a puppet troupe from Karnataka. Asia 2000 sponsored a rangoli artist to come from India through their access to funding through business relationships and government support. The Governor General, Dame Silvia Cartwright, the city mayors and other dignitaries attended the opening ceremonies.

The overseas artists contributed their time to school programmes in each centre. Local performances included fashion shows, bhangra dancers, Bharatanatyam, Bollywood competitions, and rangoli crafts, reflecting pretty much the same festival cultural content that has continued over the years. The Hindu endowment board of Singapore loaned their decorations to Asia 2000 in order to add an authentic feel to the festivals. The 2002 Diwali events attracted an estimated 80,000 participants across the festival programmes (King, 2002).

Media coverage was more extensive than the festival has received in recent years, partly due to the political climate of the day in which relationships with Asia were being nurtured as well as the public perception that the colourful event was unique in nature. Diwali was featured on TV3 news, Asia Downunder, the children's programmes Squirt TV and What Now, and Triangle TV. Radio coverage included interviews on Radio NZ, Radio Tarana and Newstalk ZB. Print articles were extensive, with coverage in major newspapers like the NZ Herald and Dominion Post, regional newspapers, and the India media, including India Newslink, Indian Tribune and India Star Times. Advertising was targeted through the Indian print and radio as well as the western press and spots on More FM (King, 2002). More FM continues to sponsor Diwali: Festival of Lights 11 years later.

Asia: NZ and the local government departments bring different resources to the festivals. The local government event teams provide local event content: performers, artists, stallholders, venue, production teams and volunteers, as well as sponsors. Asia: NZ provides the nationwide coordination as well as monetary support, international performers, links to Indian government agencies and on-site production expertise.

Auckland and Wellington feature internationally- funded performers and artists. Diwali events in Christchurch and Dunedin are organized by local community groups with limited support from Asia: NZ. Finally, there are dozens of still smaller local community celebrations featuring local performers across New Zealand; Rotorua, for example, a locality that is strongly aligned with the Māori community, received local council support as well as starting, in 2012, from Asia: NZ. The countrywide support for Diwali festivals showcasing India to the wider New Zealand communities is a way of promoting the New Zealand government's formal commitment to multiculturalism. This organisational structure creates a top-down organisation that intervenes in the coordination of one of Auckland's largest community festivals, tapping into state and local government support (Johnson, 2007, p. 75).

Perhaps the largest festival audience count was in 2010, with over 110,000 attendees estimated over the two-day festival. Auckland's Diwali: Festival of Lights is currently held in Aotea Square using the Aotea Centre for indoor space, and on Queen Street in front of Aotea Square and the Town Hall, creating a mall of food and craft vendors. During the 2007-2009 renovation of Aotea Square, the event was moved to other locations: Britomart in 2007 and 2008 and Halsey Wharf in 2009, both outdoor locations closer to the harbour. The 2010 Diwali: Festival of Lights was moved back to the newly

renovated Aotea Square location in preparation for the hosting of the 2011 Rugby World Cup.

Currently, Diwali: Festival of Lights is an event co-produced by Asia: NZ with local city governments, including Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch, Dunedin and more recently Rotorua. Asia: NZ has developed and nurtured partnerships with Asian government cultural agencies, business development agencies and private corporations since the Festival of Asia in 1997 (Asia: NZ, 2009). Diwali celebrations are attended by members of the culturally diverse Indian communities as well as other local Auckland residents and, domestic and overseas tourists.

In 2011, Council management of Auckland's Diwali: Festival of Lights was moved into ATEED's major events portfolio as the result of the 'Super City' process of merging and creating new Council governing structures. Auckland hosted the 2011 Rugby World Cup during the same time period that the 2011 Diwali: Festival of Lights was scheduled. The festival went through a transformation, catering to the rugby visitors in 2011 and acting as a cultural tourism destination.

The following case studies contrast and compare producer network maps that track the management changes of Diwali: Festival of Lights in Auckland from 2010 to 2012. During these three years the festival experienced major changes in production practices due to changes in the Auckland Council event management structure resulting in Auckland City Council and Asia: NZ as co-producers switching over to a co-production between Asia: NZ and ATEED. Within the management changes, economic development and tourism had become important outcomes for Auckland's Diwali: Festival of Lights. New Council policies impacted not only on the large celebration in Aotea Square, but also on the smaller events traditionally receiving council support in Manukau and Waitakere cities.

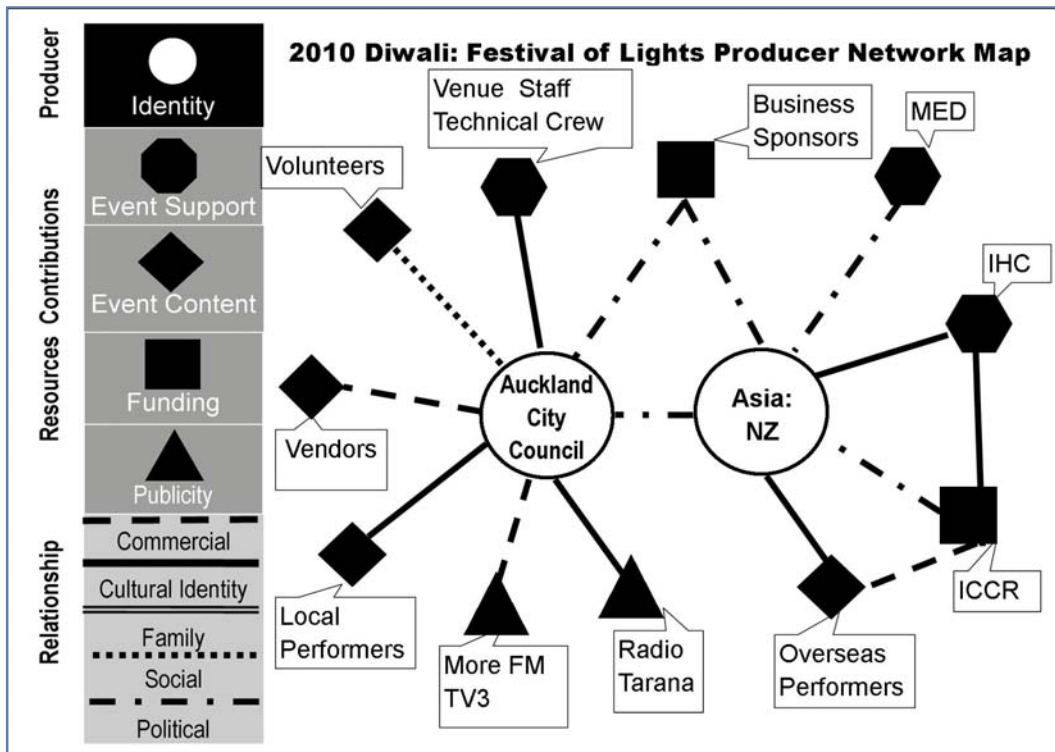


Figure 33. The 2010 Diwali: Festival of Lights Producer Collaboration between Auckland City Council and Asia: NZ

Figure 33 identifies Auckland’s 2010 Diwali: Festival of Lights production networks. In the centre of the box are two circles, representing Auckland City Council (ACC) and Asia: NZ. The relationship between the two producers is political. Both producers contribute quite different resources through their political relationships to government agencies. They play complementary roles in the co-producer relationship. ACC assumes the role of event coordinator, contributing paid council staff and venue accessing cultural identity relationships as the management of these resources are controlled within the ACC. The vendors have a commercial relationship, having paid to rent craft, food or information stalls from ACC.

Cultural identity relationships engage local performers with the festival. Volunteers are engaged through social relationships with ACC. Asia: NZ has political relationships with the Ministry of Economic Development (MEC), ICCR, and the Indian High Commission, who all contribute to the event content by supporting overseas performers and Incredible India.

Incredible India, the cultural tourism arm of the Indian government in New Delhi, travels the globe promoting India as a tourist destination in conjunction with government agencies in the targeted locality. Their display is a tent covered with Rajasthani mirrored and embroidered cloth, playing into this cultural stereotype. This image of India has been

carefully constructed and packaged by India globally. In this way governmental tourism initiatives have influenced the constructions of musical performance and the role of the government and various non-governmental agencies in the export of Rajasthani performance culture. The placement of Incredible India is a strategic marketing tool for destination tourism.

The ICCR in India and the Indian High Commission in Wellington provided support and funding for the overseas performers and artists through Asia: NZ's political relationships. In 2010, ICCR-funded performers included a magician, Uday Jadugar, and a Rajasthani music and dance troupe. The diplomatic nature of the kinds of artists funded by ICCR makes it hard for the event producers, as they have little say over what the international headliners for the festival will be. This frustrates the producers from Asia: NZ.

The festival requires the support of commercial sponsors as well as media partners. ACC has relationships with local real estate agents Barfoot & Thompson, while Asia: NZ has relationships with ANZ Bank and Cathay Pacific Airlines. Smaller sponsors are sought through ACC, including Easy Call Pre-pay, Shri Vishnu Enterprises (phone cards) and Bikanervala (local restaurant). Asia: NZ was the recipient of funding provided through the Lion Foundation and the Pelorus Trust. Three media sponsors are accessed through relationships with the ACC. Radio Tarana is accessed through cultural identity relationships with the festival. The Radio Network's ZM Classic Hits, presenting mainstream content, and TV3, which features a live 6 pm Saturday newsfeed, have a commercial relationship with "A". TV3 and ZM Classic Hits are regular sponsors of other ACC events. Those attending in the daytime included more families and reflected Auckland's multicultural residents. By the evening, the crowd was dominated by young Indian partygoers who attended specifically for the bhangra performances and dancing.

Auckland Council restricts large festivals in the centre of Auckland in order to limit the impact on the host community. Diwali is one of six large events permitted to take place annually in Aotea Square. The event runs for nine hours per day, usually starting at 1pm and closing by 10pm. The 2010 event was the first event to be held in the revamped Aotea Square, and was a trial for expected larger events planned in central Auckland during the 2011 Rugby World Cup. Successful participation in sporting events is a crucial component of New Zealand's identity (Burke, 2008; Ryan, 2005). This is reflected in the level of national attention given to individual and team engagement, especially on the international stage, and in governmental support for international sporting events.

There was considerable debate and planning surrounding New Zealand's hosting of the 2011 Rugby World Cup (RWC), and the producers had identified the need for targeted leisure and tourist activities for the expected host of international visitors (RWC 2011, 2009). Oddly perhaps, the plan lists the 2011 Diwali: Festival of Lights among the Rugby World Cup attractions. This inclusion in the list of related RWC events meant that Diwali 2011 became an event promoted as part of the REAL NZ Festival, created in 2010 by the Ministry of Economic Development. The goal of the REAL NZ Festival and the 300 events under its umbrella was to promote New Zealand culture to the international visitors attracted by the RWC. Diwali: Festival of Lights was one of the several that were marketed as a cultural event destination on the REAL NZ Festival website.

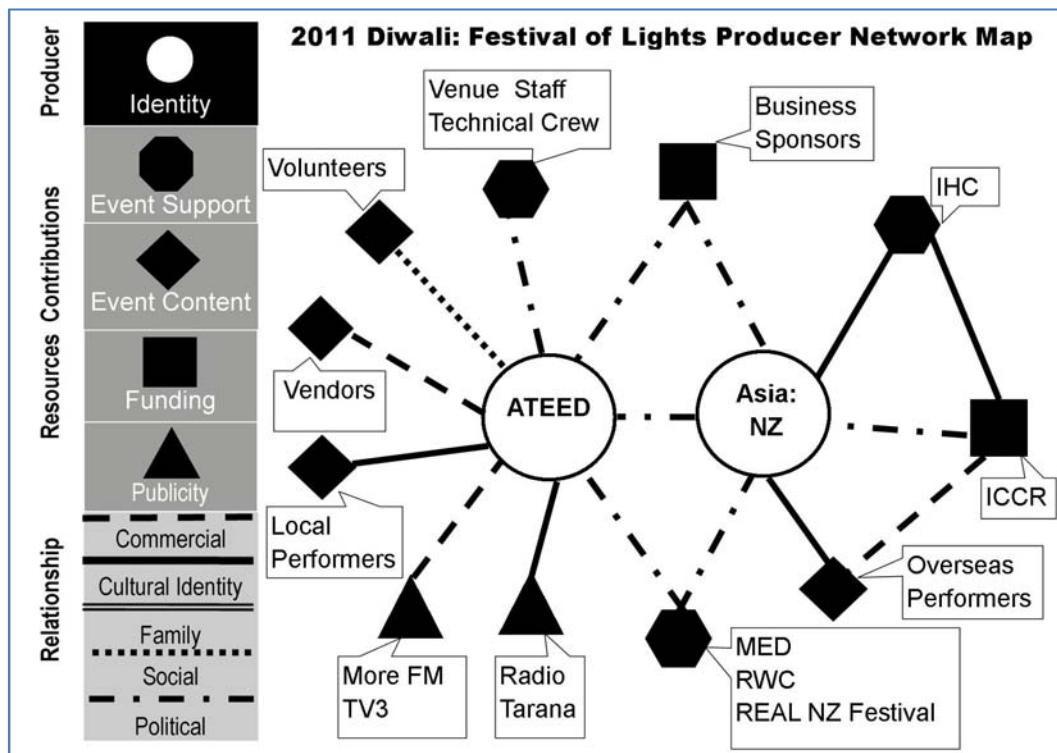


Figure 34. The 2011 Diwali: Festival of Lights Producer Collaboration between ATEED and Asia: NZ

By 2011, Auckland Council events teams had been restructured, and Diwali: Festival of Lights has since been under the management of ATEED and co-produced with Asia: NZ. With the development of ATEED and hosting the RWC, Auckland City has built a strong political relationship with the Ministry of Economic Development in Wellington. ATEED and Asia: NZ now share this resource. Figure 34 demonstrates ATEED's

increased access to resources through political relationships with the Ministry of Economic Development (MED).

The 2011 RWC was hosted by New Zealand under the management of MED, who liaised directly with the International Rugby Board. Major games, including the finals, were held in Auckland. The New Zealand government promoted the 2011 RWC as “the largest celebration to ever hit New Zealand’s shores” (RWC 2011, 2010). ATEED became a part of the national RWC promotion strategy to place Auckland as a major tourist destination for RWC fans. Strategic planning included support for the RWC event itself as well as marketing plans for leisure activities targeted at the expected 85,000 international tourists and support from the New Zealand public. Among those activities planned was the 2011 Auckland Diwali: Festival of Lights, programmed to take place during the major break between the city’s RWC test matches.

These dates were reasonably close to the actual date of Diwali, as determined by seasonal and lunar criteria. ATEED planned the 2011 Festival to be celebrated as a cultural tourism destination for RWC visitors who stayed in the Auckland region as an alternative to attending the two regional rugby matches planned in Christchurch and Wellington. The production of live events always involves the unexpected. One of the many unexpected events was the February 2011 Christchurch earthquake. The destruction of the AMI Stadium and the city centre resulted in the Christchurch RWC matches being moved to other cities. The rugby-free Diwali weekend turned into rugby central, with RWC pool playoffs at Eden Park on Saturday (England vs France) and Sunday.

ATEED created the Rugby World Cup Fan Trail, in partnership with Auckland Transport, to promote the importance of using public transportation by creating an attractive walking route between the public transportation hubs, encouraging RWC fans to walk from the public transportation hub Britomart, to the iconic rugby sports venue Eden Park. The fan trail route was designed to go straight through Aotea Square, with rugby-themed events along the way. The highly popular rugby teams playing on the Saturday and Sunday of Diwali resulted in a very quiet Festival weekend, with only a few fan trail participants showing any interest in Diwali.

The attendance at the 2011 Festival was down an estimated 25-30 percent from the previous year. There were major public transportation issues on the trains and busses a couple of weeks before on the RWC opening night. The locals, if able, were avoiding the city centre or joining in the RWC festivities. Needless to say, the festival stallholders and sponsors were not happy. This was a significantly lower attendance outcome than the

audience predicted a year before by organisers of the Festival. When asked the previous year what impact the RWC would have on Diwali events, the general consensus was that anything planned for Auckland City would be up 25-30 percent. In the end, the only businesses that benefited from the extra 85,000-plus visitors were the bars and restaurants at “Party Central” locations in the Viaduct Basin, Wynyard Quarter, Britomart, the Cloud and the sports stadiums.

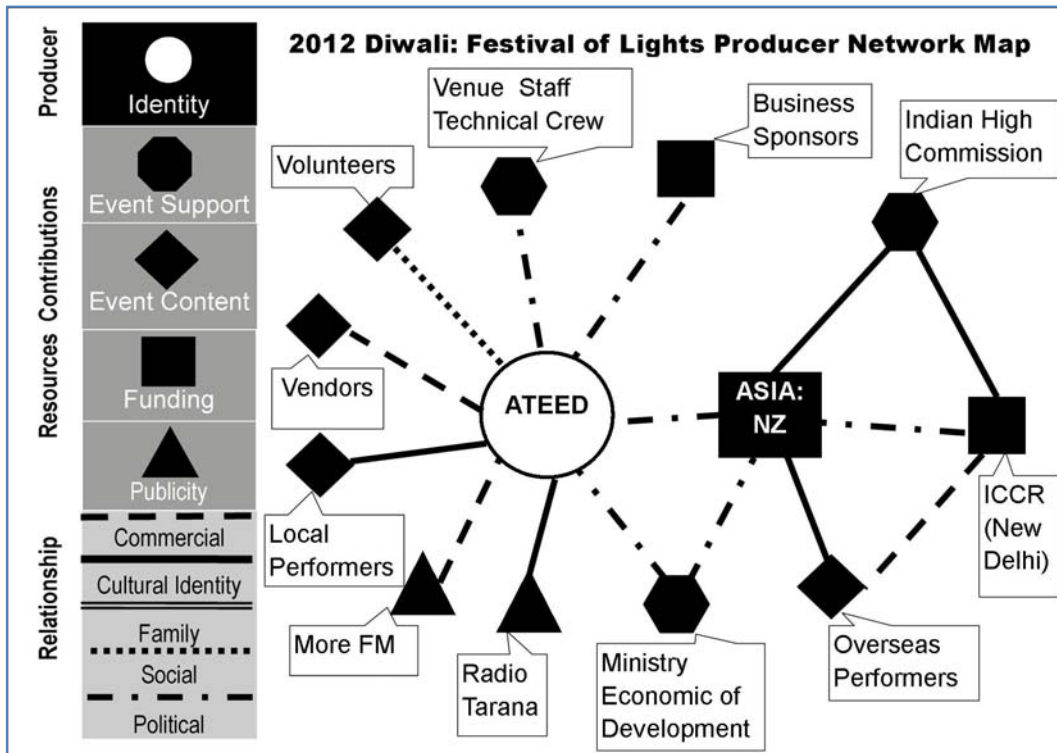


Figure 35. The 2012 Diwali: Festival of Lights Producer Collaboration between ATEED and Asia: NZ

By 2012, a shift in power between Asia: NZ and ATEED had occurred, as illustrated in Figure 35. ATEED assumed the role of sole producer completing the festivalisation process. Although it is unclear as to whether this shift was intentional or unintentional, Asia: NZ has moved from a role of producer responsibility to a role of sponsor with little power or control over sponsorship negotiations and event content. This shift has moved access to the overseas performers into an indirect relationship with ATEED through Asia: NZ. ATEED has an established political relationship with MED connected to mutual major event strategic planning. This relationship changes political networks. One example of this shift was when the ATEED team referred to Asia: NZ in public on more than one occasion as sponsors and not as co-producers, to the surprise of Asia: NZ.

For the past years, the festival has been located in Aotea Square and on Queen Street, as well as using three floors inside Aotea Centre. These venue options offered a variety of performing spaces as well as options for participants in the case of severe weather. The ATEED event coordinator (“A”) chose to hold the 2012 event a month before the actual dates that Diwali was to be celebrated according to the Indian lunar festival calendar. It was also the same weekend that the Russian Ballet had booked the Aotea Centre. This resulted in “A” only having access to the basement of the building. “A” planned to close an additional two blocks of Queen Street to the traditional closing of the outside of the Town Hall to provide space for more vendors, who in the past had used the upper floor in Aotea Centre.

Any performers or artists requiring indoor space were located in a lower level area of Aotea Centre which is normally used for small conferences or trade shows. This location moved the visibility of the festival, specifically many performers and artists as well as Asia: NZ’s display, inside to a limited access area, while the area on the street was expanded for vendors and street performers. The festival included a fan trail from Britomart to Aotea Square, started the previous year for the RWC, featuring flash mobs, Bollywood singers and dancers.

The 2012 production team proved to be unfamiliar with managing cultural festivals and specifically the Indian community, Diwali and related festival stakeholders. ATEED engaged sponsors from their RWC relationships, replacing Indian businesses with Sky City Casino and the Auckland Restaurant Association. Ticketed carnival rides were included in the centre of Queen Street and on Aotea Square, supplied by businesses supported in other ATEED mainstream events. They alienated key supporters of Diwali, including a major sponsor who left their prominently placed marquee empty for the entire weekend.

The new team has created a culturally homogenous festival, attracting, far fewer than expected participants, audience and stallholders alike. The stallholders were complaining about a further rise in stall fees from the previous year and the lack of sales. The event was branded as a ‘Kiwi festival with an Indian flavour’ and reflected this image in the posters and marketing of the event. The number of stallholders had dropped perhaps 50 percent from the previous year. A further decrease in audience attendance can be partially blamed on the weather which proved to be a very unpleasant for most of the weekend. Without the usual indoor space, there was nowhere for the crowds to escape the wind and rain. Vendors who have supported the festival over the past decade have expressed their frustration as to how the event is run and the way ‘India’ has been removed

from the equation. Many participants from the Indian community do not plan to return in 2013.

As Diwali: Festival of Lights has shifted from a community celebration to an Auckland Council 'Major Event', other Diwali celebrations have continued to be produced by Auckland cultural organisations, reflecting the many regional differences within the Indian communities. Dissent within the community was reflected in the highly publicised alternative Diwali celebrations, held a month later when Diwali is traditionally celebrated. The events were discussed in the Indian press by very vocal producers representing the large Indian cultural community organisations, MIA and WIA.

The MIA is an culturally inclusive association that welcomes Indians from any origin, be they from any part of India, Fiji, England, South Africa, the USA or any other part of the world (Bureau Staff, 2012b). The MIA includes in their Diwali festival Indo-Fijian cultural influences, including the selling of kava, a ceremonial and social beverage of the Pacific Islands. MIA holds Diwali at the Vodafone Events Centre in Manukau City. This event is usually supported by around 15,000 attendees. Len Brown, the mayor of Auckland City and former mayor of Manukau City, has supported MIA as part of his personal commitment to the multicultural makeup of Manukau City and attended MIA events on a regular basis.

Until 2011, the MIA Diwali event was promoted through Radio Tarana along with the other government-supported Diwali events, which include Auckland and Wellington's Diwali: Festival of Lights as well as the Waitakere Diwali. The change in Auckland Council structure has meant serious changes in event support and producers, not only at the Diwali: Festival of Lights, but also in the community-produced Diwali festivals and celebrations.

In 2012, MIA combined with Bhartiya Samaj, dropping Radio Tarana and Auckland Council, and now receives major sponsorship from Humm FM. An agreement was signed on June 15, 2012 between MIA and Humm FM with the purpose of "bringing to the people of the Indian Community better programs and events in the future" (Bureau Staff, 2012b). The festival is no longer aligned with the larger event promotions under Radio Tarana and Auckland Council festival management.

The WIA also changed the event practices of their 2012 community Diwali celebration. WIA had been producing Diwali in partnership with Auckland Council since 2000. The event is held at The Trusts Arena in Henderson and receives sponsorship from Radio Tarana. They attract approximately 10,000 attendees from the West Auckland

communities. The WIA takes a traditional approach to the event, emphasising Diwali as a Hindu Festival rooted in Indian culture.

In a 2012 newspaper article it was stated that Diwali should best be left to the people who know and appreciate its religious, mythological, traditional and now growing social significance and associated sensitivities. For the WIA, importance is placed on the event retaining the Diwali theme and not being diluted into another western event.

We feel Diwali needs to retain its theme and not be swept by the increasing effects of commercialization, westernization and Hollywood and Bollywood influence. Therefore while mindful of the increasing social bonding significance of Diwali, its theme should not be diluted to such an extent that it merely becomes yet another western event bereft of any worthy cultural, traditional or religious significance that it currently holds. It is for this reason that Waitakere Indian Association links with its affiliate, Waitakere Hindi Language and Cultural School, to portray the real theme of Diwali event (T. R. Singh, 2012a).

This statement can be interpreted as a reaction to Auckland Council's control of the management of Diwali: Festival of Lights, and the impact the festivalisation process has had on the Indian communities' cultural representation and feeling of inclusion. The WIA Diwali celebration is run completely by volunteers from within their community organisations. They feel that maintaining their autonomy from the control of the council is essential in delivering an authentic event that presents the traditions of the annual celebration.

The case studies shed some light on the Indian communities' reaction to government intervention in cultural events and issues of cultural representation. The new Auckland "Super City" producers have larger strategic plans for what they refer to as major events. The placement of Diwali in the new ATEED portfolio has shifted power relationships between the producers, the sponsors and the community.

The Asia: NZ Annual Reports include records of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade's financial contribution for Asia: NZ-produced cultural festivals. The funding for Diwali has decreased over the past three years: in 2010, a total of \$360,546 (\$281,546 in project funding and \$79,000 in donations); in 2011, \$414,603 (\$304,993 in project funding and \$157,808 in donations), expected to be higher due to the timing of the 2011 RWC; and in 2012, \$333,297 (\$302,832 in project funding and \$30,465 in donations). The funding for the Lantern Festival has increased significantly, with a total in 2011 of \$808,546, and in 2012, \$985,890 (\$838,432 in project funding and \$147,458) (Burdon, 2011, 2012). Needless to say, producing the Lantern Festival has been a far easier task for

Asia: NZ than Diwali. Jennifer King has expressed how much easier it has been to get the support of local sponsors and government agencies.

Event management studies have shown that successful community festivals must ensure that the community be central to all cultural production processes, and that the communities' cultures be evident throughout festival. As festivals have the power to directly and indirectly influence the construction of production networks. When narrow and exclusive definitions of culture are implemented within the planning process, the organisers fail to produce an inclusive community festival (Clarke & Jepson, 2011; Getz, 2002). Diwali: Festival of Lights may not continue in its current form, as its success is now determined by ATEED benchmarks, producers and stakeholders who sit outside of the Indian communities.

Conclusion

This chapter discussed the roles some government organisations play in the hegemonic control of cultural productions. The producers are government employees adhering to government strategic plans. Government agencies have the power to control access as well as the ability to leverage asset-rich resources. The festivals and concerts that they produce appeal to audiences outside of the community being represented. Festivals have the power to represent cultural communities to broader audiences. How the cultural communities are publicly displayed has to do with how the community has been engaged in the planning process.

In Auckland, government agencies produce a range of events, including festivals and concerts. Events that represent minority cultures tend to be produced within festival management frameworks. As the government responds to shifting government policies, the management of cultural festivals has shifted away from community involvement. In the case of the Indian community, in response there has been a resurgence of community events and festivals and less involvement in the events managed by government agencies.

Through the festival management framework, producers have the potential to access resources that are less available for concerts. This is due to the more complex structure of festival management and stakeholders that includes an additional layer of collaborative relationships (Getz et al., 2007). Festivalisation directly and indirectly influences the nature and construction of the networks that connect producers to event resources. Government agencies have a distinctive competitive advantage in being able to access resources through other government agencies. Festivalisation, or the use of festivals

and mega-events for destination tourism in order to boost the image of the festival locality, impacts on the host community in many ways. The government shift from Auckland City Council producers to ATEED are part of this process affecting community involvement in festivals.

The changes in government policies, and Auckland Council turning its focus to economic development and sports, has led to Diwali being transformed into a festival expected to contribute to the new council's economic development and tourism portfolio. Issues of narrow and exclusive definitions of culture to which institutional planners may adhere have resulted in the exclusion of the very cultures that a festival is alleged to represent (Clarke & Jepson, 2011).

The result has been dissent within the Indian communities and a decrease in support for events produced by government agency producers. Government agency producers present Indian cultural identity to the wider public and have powerful controls over the production process, including funding, venues and programming. Some members of the Indian community have created powerful and lucrative positions as sponsors and suppliers negotiating with government agency producers. Some community members find it fraught dealing with the council management style and responding to the top-down bureaucratic management process.

The success of *The Manganiyar Seduction* is partially due to the inclusion of musicians who are from Rajasthan, a proven success factor when marketing 'India' to the 'other'. Rajasthani music, musical performance and performance troupes are routinely deployed both within India and throughout the world in the production of images of Indian 'authenticity' and 'tradition'. As part of the commercial process of cultural tourism, Rajasthani musicians in their turbans, exotic musical instruments, and dancers in their swirling skirts, fit the romantic image of the India of palaces and kings steeped in orientalism (Chaudhuri, 2009; Henderson & Weisgrau, 2007; Said, 1978).

The shift in local government to one large Auckland city has changed the way cultural events are managed. Some community events have been moved into a tourism and economic development portfolio. This has lessened community engagement, and members of the community feel powerless in this new approach. The role cultural tourism plays in public policy decisions and arts funding has become apparent with the establishment of ATEED and the new management structure of Diwali: Festival of Lights.

There is no doubt that the shift in power from a local council department to a larger organisation that has adopted an event, tourism and economic development model has

affected stakeholder relationships as well as community engagement. For community organisations to gain access to the required permits, including street closures and security, would prove virtually impossible in this current production model. There has been a demonstrable shift in ‘power brokers’ who hold direct power over the way government agencies produce events on behalf of the cultural representation of Auckland’s Indian communities.

Chapter Four: Commercial Event Producers

Introduction

This chapter examines commercially produced concerts delivered by individuals or event companies who are motivated to produce events primarily for profit. The case studies in this chapter demonstrate that profit is a primary motivator for some producers, who may create events that reflect their musical preferences, desire to experience concerts by specific performers, or have community or family obligations to showcase specific individuals.

For large events to be economically feasible they require the ability to attract large audiences across the diverse Auckland Indian communities or targeted large audiences within specific cultural affiliations. Some producers depend on attracting audiences primarily from across the diverse Auckland Indian communities and, for larger events, from other Indian communities across New Zealand. Commercial events have featured superstars packing large arenas, as well as superstars performing to empty auditoriums devoid of audience.

Bollywood performances featuring musicians from overseas dominate the Indian commercial event market, although commercial events also feature various other performance genres, including Indian classical music, rock, theatre, dance dramas, hip hop and DJ mix. The producer may be friends with the performer, of similar cultural heritage, a fan, aware of the commercial potential of the event, wanting to break into a new profession and/or any of these factors. There is a small group of producers who have a great deal of previous experience in the Auckland event market who appear to seamlessly deliver profitable events as new migrants look on with envy. It must be recognised that emotive issues emerge from these stories around factors including profits, prestige, and friendships, creating various feelings ranging from desperation to joy.

This chapter is divided into two sections, starting with a discussion focussing on event sustainability and commercial production practices and followed by case studies. These specific events have been chosen to demonstrate and contrast events of different scope, size and production practices. The first three case studies analyse the commercial practices of local producer/performers creating events in which they perform as the vocal star. These examples offer a contrast to the production practices of producers creating larger events that feature overseas superstars. The producers of commercial events represent half the events captured in the snapshot. Not all of these events were successful.

Reputations were elevated as well as destroyed. This being the case, this chapter begins with a discussion of sustainability and production practice, and includes an analysis of the commercial events captured in the snapshot by genre, time periods, ticket sales and use of venues, as these factors set the stage for the six case studies that follow.

Event Sustainability and Commercial Production Practices

This section serves as an introduction to issues raised in the six case studies to follow. Commercially produced concerts represent the largest number of events produced in this study. During the snapshot period, 30 of the 60 events produced primarily were motivated by the producer's desire for profit. These events presented nine different performance genres and ranged in audience sizes from 50 to 5,000. Some events were more successful than others. Some producers were trying their hand at producing events for the first time and others had years of experience.

Some producers created events that can be considered not only successful but also sustainable. Sustainability, in event management, results from a variable combination of economic feasibility, improved reputations for producers and/or artists, ongoing relationships among producers and others in the event industry, and production skill competency (Pernecky & Lück, 2013). Sustainable events, in a social context, attain tangible and intangible objectives. First, a sustainable event must be economically feasible, achieving set-out objectives that typically involve attracting audience, gaining media attention and meeting the budget parameters. Second, less tangible objectives are met, such as having the ability to grow the producer's and/or the performer's reputations or build production networks that share expertise and resources. Third, tangible resources are created such as production manuals and other event management tools for knowledge transfer and the easy replication of similar events in the future (A. Booth, 2013, p. 115).

The producer's ability to apply production practices in the knowledge domains of administration, marketing, design, operations, and risk management, is critical to event sustainability and the success of a producer in this industry. Some of the producers' stories are reminiscent of a Balinese cock fight, with power plays, strutting and hedging funds, as described by Geertz:

What sets the cockfight apart from the ordinary course of life, lifts it from the realm of everyday practical affairs, and surrounds it with an aura of enlarged importance is not, as functionalist sociology would have it, that it reinforces status discriminations (such reinforcement is hardly necessary in a society where every act proclaims them), but that it provides a metasocial

commentary upon the whole matter of assorting human beings into fixed hierarchical ranks and then organizing the major part of collective existence around that assortment. Its function, if you want to call it that is interpretive: it is a Balinese reading of Balinese experience; a story they tell themselves about themselves... What the cockfight says it says in a vocabulary of sentiment – the thrill of risk, the despair of loss, the pleasure of triumph. Yet what it says is not merely that risk is exciting, loss depressing, or triumph gratifying, banal tautologies of affect, but that it is of these emotions, thus exemplified, that society is built and individuals put together. (Geertz, 1972, p. 10)

Recently, new players have emerged, trying their hand at producing commercial events and risking large amounts of money. Only a few of the emerging commercial producers have previous event experience. Most are part of the new migration wave of skilled workers (often accountants, health professionals and IT professionals) entering New Zealand after the government immigration reforms of 2003. Many arriving are inexperienced at producing events, and find they are competing with those with previous event production industry experience in Auckland and/or overseas. From the outside, successful events appear to be a lucrative venture for those settling into their new communities.

Some new migrants arriving from India or from other countries with large cities find the transition to the small market of Auckland, let alone New Zealand, difficult (Leckie, 2010; Lewin et al., 2011). The cultural transition can make it very hard to fathom the highly competitive nature of the entrepreneurial side of event production. The established producers may act as gatekeepers, blocking the new arrivals from access to important resources, including knowledge of local event practices and the relationships required within and outside of the local Indian communities.

In New Zealand, sustainability has been a long-standing challenge for Indian producers, who have historically been ‘fans’ rather than event professionals, semi-professional at best, relatively bounded within an Indian and post-colonial cultural outlook. The majority of commercial events market North India and are dominated by Bollywood content, bonding through this significant unifier of ‘Indianness’ experienced throughout the Indian diaspora (Takhar, Maclaran, & Stevens, 2012).

Events are a risky business and, as said in the industry, “Event management is like performing a high-wire act without a safety net. Once the event starts, there are no second chances” (Judy Allen, 2009, p. 1). Attracting audiences large enough to make a profit is a skilled business for all commercial events, and requires talent and skills. Reputation plays

a major factor not just for musicians, but also for event organisers, patrons, politicians and others involved in the musical scene (Gerstin, 1998, p. 386). Reputation is a crucial form of ‘power’.

The first three case studies demonstrate how performers create performances for themselves to make and manipulate connections between music, social identity, and political contexts in which to grow their reputations. The last three case studies view reputation from a producer’s perspective, in which social standing and past experience play an important role in making a profit. Motivations may vary considerably depending on the producer’s relationship with the performer as a friend, business partner or fan and their existing or newly emerging reputation in the community.

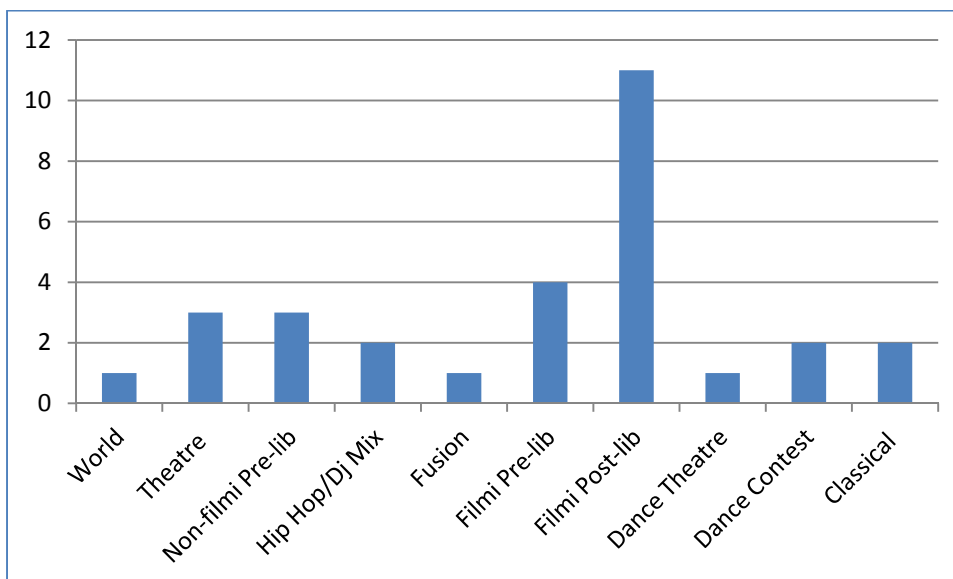


Figure 36. Performance Genres Presented as Commercial Events

Figure 36 divides the 30 commercial events identified by the snapshot into nine performance genre categories (there were no festivals commercially produced during the period of this study). Pre- and post-liberalisation film music events featuring overseas artists represented over 50 percent of the 30 commercial events. The majority of these events were presented in large venues with audience capacity of over 1,700. Of these events, 5 presented pre-liberalisation film music and 11 featured post-liberalisation Bollywood artists. In addition, this category included an unusual performance by a South Indian violinist performing Tamil film music. The pre- liberalisation filmi events attract large audiences for commercial producers, demonstrating a niche market for Bollywood

songs from the 1950-80s, the classic or golden age of the Hindi cinema being this period of film history. The producers and their audience in this niche genre identify culturally with pre-liberalisation India and the related traditional values featured in the cinema of this period.

Other producers and their audiences reflect the economic and social reforms in India that, by 1996, had opened up opportunities for commercial access to popular music and recordings from outside of India. The government's liberalisation of cultural policies created open public access to affordable alternative popular music choices. The influx of new sounds affected the musical and visual content of film production, combining with transnational influences from the newly expanding global Indian communities. Post-liberalisation Bollywood registered a radical shift in both form and content, appealing to the widening diaspora and increased opportunities for skilled employment and the building of enormous wealth, such as the creation of Bangalore as the information technology hub of India (Guha, 2007).

Pre-liberalisation repertoire performances from non-film traditions was represented by two ghazal (romantic, philosophical couplets set to melody) concerts and a dandiya (originally a Gujarati folk dance often performed during festivals honouring the goddess Durga) concert. The two classical concerts presented were a South Indian vocalist and a sarod player from the North. There were three theatre events: one in English, one in Hindi and one in Konkani. The single dance drama was unique, as it presented local dancers and actors in lavish costumes miming to a pre-recorded tape made in India. The single 'world' music event presented Indian percussionists.

Youth-oriented events included one fusion and two hip hop/DJ mix concerts, as well as two Bollywood dance competitions. Since 2003, a new kind of Indian cultural producer has emerged: young, highly educated, global in outlook, and having developed a more sustainable set of collaborative, technology/media savvy and economically realistic production practices. These new producers have introduced events that appeal to an audience that is equally young, global, educated, and who see themselves as redefining the musical representation of 'India' in New Zealand. Some have emerged as successful producers, delivering events across various performance genres. Some of these producers were involved in the large Bollywood shows discussed in this chapter, and they are also discussed further in Chapter 5. Some producers have been consistently successful in generating significant profits from their events, and others have failed.

The commercial producers hire a variety of venues in Auckland ranging from school auditoriums to stadiums. Choosing to hold a commercial event in community venues restricts the audience numbers but also keeps the expenses down. Some are more popular than others and may be chosen for availability, location, size, facilities and services and/or price.

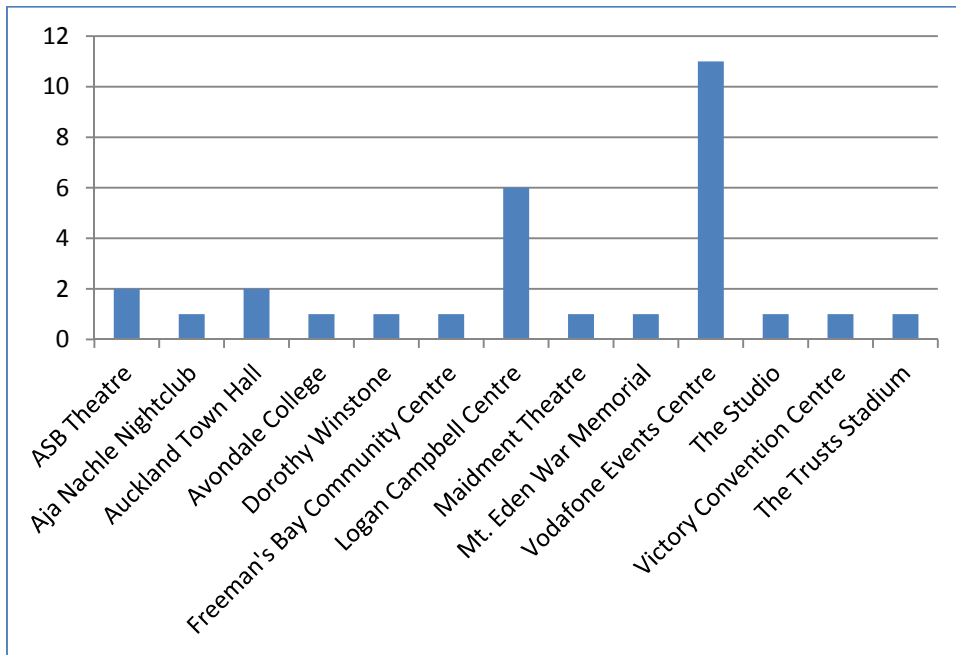


Figure 37. Frequency of Commercial Event Venue Use

Figure 37 identifies 14 Auckland venues that were hired, and their frequency of use, for Indian events by commercial producers during the snapshot period. Freeman's Bay and Mt Eden War Memorial are community halls seating up to 600. They are inexpensive and council-managed. Avondale College and Dorothy Winstone are large school auditoriums and popular venues for medium-size concerts attracting audiences fewer than 900. The Maidment is a small university theatre suited to plays attracting audiences fewer than 450. The Victory Convention Centre is a church venue that doubles as a convention centre and is rarely used by commercial producers. Aja Nachle and The Studio are nightclubs set up for dancing, drinking and loud music. Only six commercial events were held in community halls, with those performances primarily limited to experimental concerts and theatre productions.

The popular venues for larger events – those seating audiences of 1,700 to 6,000 – are the Logan Campbell Centre and the Vodafone Events Centre. Auckland Town Hall’s Great Hall, the ASB Theatre and The Trusts Arena in Waitakere are also used; the Vodafone Events Centre is more popular with cultural organisations for festivals and the ASB Theatre is used more by council producers. The other 24 events, identified in Figure 38, can be considered as ‘large events’, as these events took place in a variety of large venues hoping to and all attract audiences of over 1,000 ticket buyers.

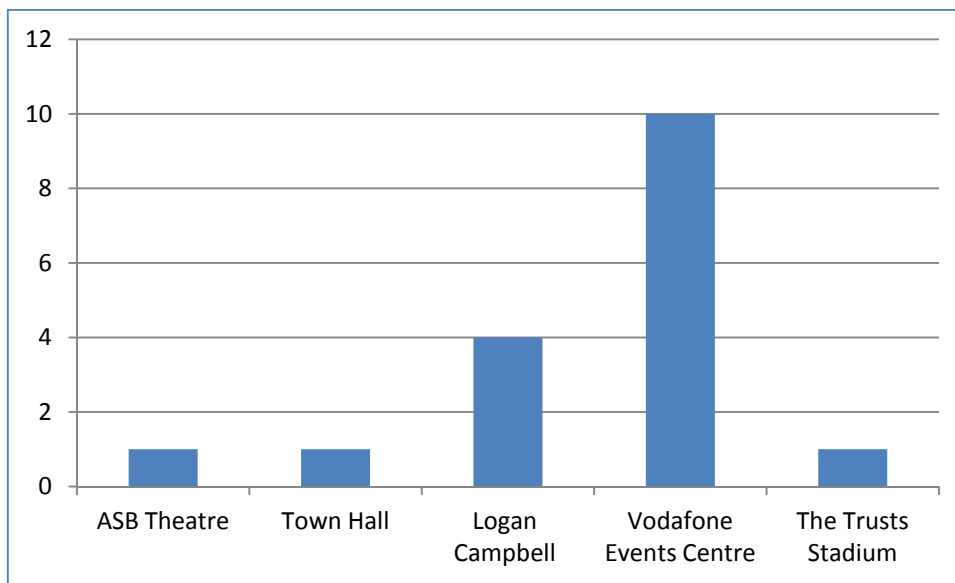


Figure 38. Auckland Venues that Seat Over 1,700 and Their Usage for Examples in this Section

Figure 38 identifies five Auckland venues hired by producers catering to commercial events expecting large audiences. Size and venue management are important determinants of the producer’s choice of venue and ability to attract audiences. These venues are capable of accommodating an audience over a capacity of 1,700 seats. Of the 30 commercial events in the snapshot, 15 were held in these five venues. All of the events presented overseas performers of various genres, although the majority were Bollywood shows. The most popular venue is the Vodafone Events Centre. There are several factors that add to the popularity of this venue: flexible ticketing, location, size and parking.

Auckland has two large arenas: the Vodafone Events Stadium in Manukau City that seats up to 5,000 and The Trusts Arena in Henderson with seating up to 6,000. Other large venues are managed by THE EDGE and are located in Auckland’s central business district: the ASB Theatre with seating up to 2,400, and Auckland Town Hall’s Great Hall with

seating up to 1,750, as well as the Logan Campbell Centre just outside the central city that seat up to 3,000. Another venue is Vector Arena, seating up to 12,000; it has not yet been used by Indian producers.

Typically, large events require venues that seat 5,000 to be economically viable, with a break-even on selling 3,000 tickets. The musicians often tour with several musicians and technical staff. Individuals in the entourage may be based in London, Mumbai, Los Angeles or some other diaspora locale. The tours are pricey, and ideally travel costs are shared with other producers involved in an Australasian tour. Vodafone Events Centre and The Trusts Arena are located across the city from each other, both in areas of Auckland that host large Indian residential communities and businesses.

The most popular venue is the Vodafone Events Centre, due to several factors. The local producers are skilled at the technical issues when using this venue. The seating is 5,000, a realistic audience capacity for these events. The venue allows flexible ticketing, and there is ample parking. Manukau City is conveniently located for many of the Indian communities who reside in the neighbouring suburbs, as well as the venue itself being located near two major motorway arteries. The Trusts Arena is a bit too large and has poor sound and sight lines and not enough on-site parking. The Vodafone Events Centre is managed by a trust independent of Auckland Council control. The central purpose and role of the venue has been defined as “a multipurpose events centre, for all the people of Manukau – promoting art, culture, business and leisure, to celebrate our excellence and diversity” (Vodafone Event Centre, 2013).

Ticket distribution is crucial to the success of an event and influences the popularity of venues. Ticket purchasing through local Indian businesses is very popular, as producers are able to promote the event cheaply and efficiently without high ticket agent fees. The Logan Campbell Centre, the Vodafone Events Centre and The Trusts Arena allow ticket producers to sell and distribute their own concert tickets. Tickets for these venues are able to be sold through major ticket outlets linked to the venues as well as through local Indian-owned shops and individuals.

Yogiji's, a local supermarket in Mt. Roskill, serves as the most popular of the ticket outlets for Indian concert ticket buyers. In events in which Yogiji's is involved as a ticket outlet, 30 percent of tickets sold are through Yogiji's, another 30 percent through Auckland Indian Sweets or a similar business, an additional 30 percent directly from the producer, and the last 10 percent online. The producers are able to display posters behind the counter as well as place large floor promotion displays in the shop. Buying tickets is a

social occasion at Yogiji's, with long queues and people fighting over types of tickets and popular venue seats. The shop comes to life in a way that it does not when purchasing tickets online or at an inner-city box office.

Not all Indian businesses want to be involved in ticket distribution. For one successful video shop owner, selling concert tickets is not worth the time and money involved. When approached recently to distribute tickets for a large commercial event he declined, as for him new business would not be generated and if the purchase went through his cash register he would be liable for taxes as well as credit card fees (HK, personal communication, 1 April, 2012).

The ASB Theatre and the Auckland Town Hall do not offer such opportunities for local businesses to distribute tickets. THE EDGE-managed venues are contractually connected to 'preferred suppliers'. These relationships include ticketing, catering and venue support. Such 'preferred' relationships do not make THE EDGE venues popular with Indian producers as ticket distribution must be contracted through THE EDGE box office management and includes high processing charges for the producer as well as the purchaser. The location of the venues is in the city centre, with Council-controlled parking garages that are thought to be expensive. Members of the Indian community have made it quite clear that the venues are not popular with Indian producers or audiences. The in-house-only ticketing policy is inflexible and has high in-built fees for producers as well as customers. A cut is taken from all CDs sold front-of-house, and caterers as sponsors are not possible in the contract agreements at these venues (RI, personal communication, 21 March, 2012).

An important factor for the producers of most commercial events is the inclusion of caterers as sponsors. The caterers contribute a cash fee to sell food at the event and recoup their financial contributions by being permitted to sell food inside the venue. This provides inexpensive Indian snacks, tea, soft drinks and water that the Indian audience has come to expect. The Indian audience does not tend to purchase drinks and snacks at THE EDGE, as their bars provide drinks and ice cream bars that are perceived as pricey. Indeed, the prices are way above retail, and the products they sell cannot be compared to the variety, value and culturally preferred food and drinks provided in the catering sponsorship deals negotiated by the Indian producers at the other large venues.

The largest commercial venue in Auckland is the privately owned Vector Arena. Up until now, Vector Arena has not been used by Indian producers. It is unclear whether there is a large enough population in Auckland to support an overseas Indian performance

that requires a minimum audience of 8,000. The venue has produced many sell-out pop act events: Katy Perry, Crosby Stills and Nash, and family shows such as the Wiggles and Dancing with Dinosaurs. Currently, one producer is planning a very large Bollywood stage show at Vector Arena for later in 2013. The producer was able to attract the large levels of sponsorship required to mitigate the financial risks, as the initial layout for this kind of event is close to \$1 million. The producer is young, savvy and has previous Auckland production experience with a proven track record to deliver economically sustainable events.

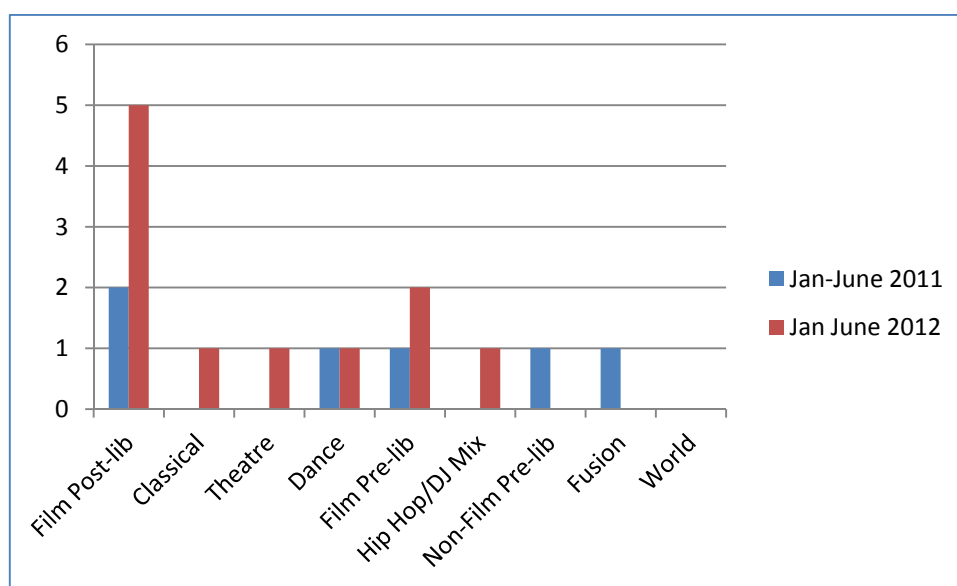


Figure 39. Comparison of Number of Commercial Events by Genre, January-June 2011 and January-June 2012

Figure 39 is a comparison of 17 commercial events divided by genre and time periods (January-June 2011 and January-June 2012). This comparison makes clear that there were more events produced during the first half of 2012 than the first half of 2011 and, that producing commercial events is a growing area in the Indian concert market in Auckland. The noticeable differences are the increased variety of events genres as well as an increase in the film genre categories. During the first half of 2012, no world music concerts were produced. There was one sold-out theatre event brought out from India, one historical costume dance drama in English, and a hip hop artist from India that performed in a nightclub. The other eight events were large Bollywood events featuring performers from overseas. This is in strong contrast to the same period in 2011, during which there

was one Bollywood dance competition, a small fusion concert, a small event featuring a violinist performing Tamil film music and three large Bollywood events featuring performers from overseas.

The first six months of 2012 featured the highest number of successful events produced by the Indian community recorded in the history of Auckland Success factors include more experienced producers, a growing Indian population, as well as the increased choice and availability of performers. The 2011 Rugby World Cup was over and the city was beginning to return to normal. It was also the year following the successful Manganiyar Seduction at the Auckland Arts Festival. New producers emerged trying their hand at risky events, hoping to reap big profits. Not all of them were successful.

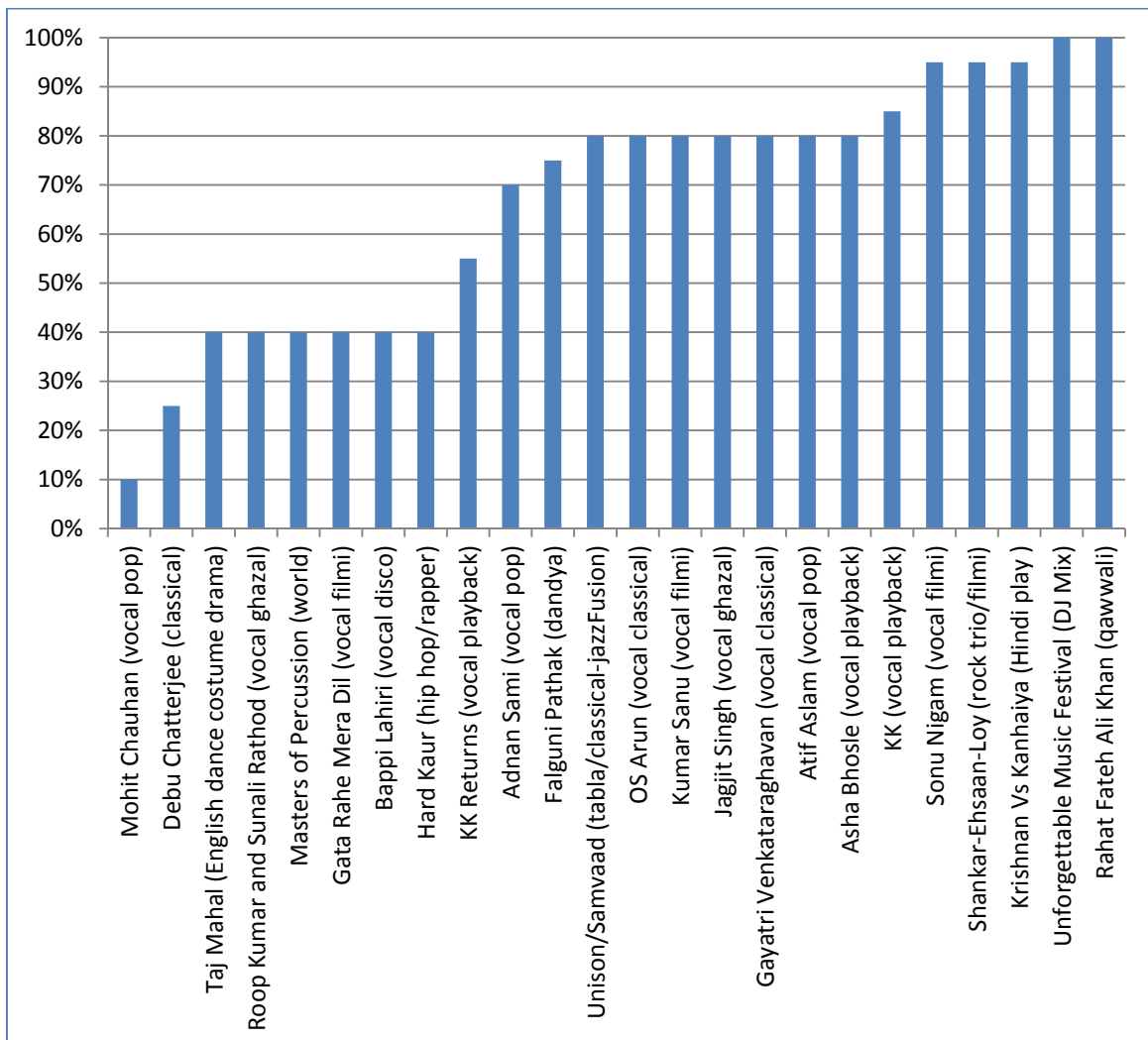


Figure 40. Audience Sizes of Commercial Events Featuring Overseas Performers Comparing Percent of Tickets Sold in Venues

Figure 40 identifies 25 of the 30 commercially produced events captured in the snapshot that presented performers from overseas. All of these events received high-profile advertising and publicity in the local Indian press. The success of the events is divided pretty evenly as a third made a profit, a third broke even and a third lost money. When considering the economic realities of producing such events, it is important to recognise that some commercial events require large support from the public as audience, sponsors and publicists. For most events, this support is essential to breaking even and in most cases the audience pool for Indian events is limited by the size of the Indian communities. The economic feasibility of these events relies on attracting audiences willing and able to pay for tickets.

When comparing the audience attendances identified in Figure 40, it is clear that not all events can be considered a financial success if a break-even is based on selling 50-60 percent of the tickets. There are some producers who did not possess the skills required to attract audiences outside of their immediate community. Some of the more successful producers have established networks and have built solid reputations as producers, within the Auckland event community as well as overseas. Time of year, competing events, performer and producer reputations, success in negotiating contracts, and marketing knowledge are factors to consider.

Determining exactly who makes up the audience demographic and identifying actual numbers of people that purchased tickets is always problematic, as often the data is just not available. One problem identified is that performing arts producers have their own sense of pride, their own fear of competition, and sometimes their own timidity about confessing that their business is not as good as it should be (Quine, 1993). Head counts are approximate unless every ticket in the house is sold. Even then it is difficult to know how many tickets were given away to sponsors, friends and family.

What is sometimes difficult to assess when ticket sales have been poor is whether the audience has been 'papered'. This is a term used when the promoter gives away tickets so that the venue appears fuller than the actual tickets sold would warrant. It should be noted that additional concerts outside Auckland may have added to the profits for the producer, although this factor has not been taken into account as this study focuses on commercial events that took place in Auckland and not on profits across concert tours. I attended many of these events, but for those I did not attend, the audience and event experience were discussed with members of the Indian community that did attend and/or

with the producer of the specific event. Therefore, audience size in Figure 40 is an estimate only.

The following case studies focus on successful events that have been chosen to compare and contrast various ways that commercial producers presented Bollywood repertoire concert content. The section starts with three small events produced by local singers creating Bollywood events featuring themselves in order to get an opportunity to perform. These are followed by three events (featured in Figure 40) featuring superstars stopping in Auckland on global tours.

Case Study 15: Three Local Bollywood Performers

These following case studies analyse three small events in order to explore notions of profit, Bollywood, cultural identity and producer motivations. These events were all live Bollywood music performances produced by local singers. Because all three of the producers are also performers, reputation and other motivations are important factors to consider. Issues of nostalgia and the producer's own desires to perform also require consideration. All three events took place in the same venue, the Dorothy Winstone Centre at Auckland Girls' Grammar School. This is one of the larger school auditoriums, with seating for up to 900 people, and has proven to be very popular with the Indian community as it is self-ticketing, has free parking and does not have restrictions around catering.

Mega Sangeet Mehfil

The Mega Sangeet Mehfil was produced by a local singer specialising in nostalgic Bollywood repertoire who had built up a fan base at house concerts. This concert was his attempt to bring his talent to a wider audience and build his reputation by creating an opportunity to perform in a larger public space. Although it was a commercial event, tickets were not 'sold' and the event was not publicly advertised. Instead of printing 'tickets' to sell seating at the event, seats were secured through 'invitations' that cost \$20 and were distributed through the community by word of mouth, a website and a viral email campaign.

To understand the reasoning behind the producer's approach to this event, it is important to understand the event's name, Mega Sangeet Mehfil, and place it in a cultural perspective. Sangeet is a complex term that is colloquially used to mean music. Mehfil is an Urdu term that literally means an assembly. It is routinely used in Sufi discourse, but is

also used to describe an intimate gathering of courtly entertainment including music, dance and hospitality. For most contemporary Indians, it is closely connected to the nostalgic ideology of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Indo-Muslim culture and the music and poetry thereof. The contradictions between a ‘mega’ or large public event and a ‘mehfil’ or small intimate event were structurally expressed in the production of this event, as I will describe. Nevertheless, the use of this term in the marketing of this event is an important clue as to the cultural identity (and the ideological motivations) of this producer.

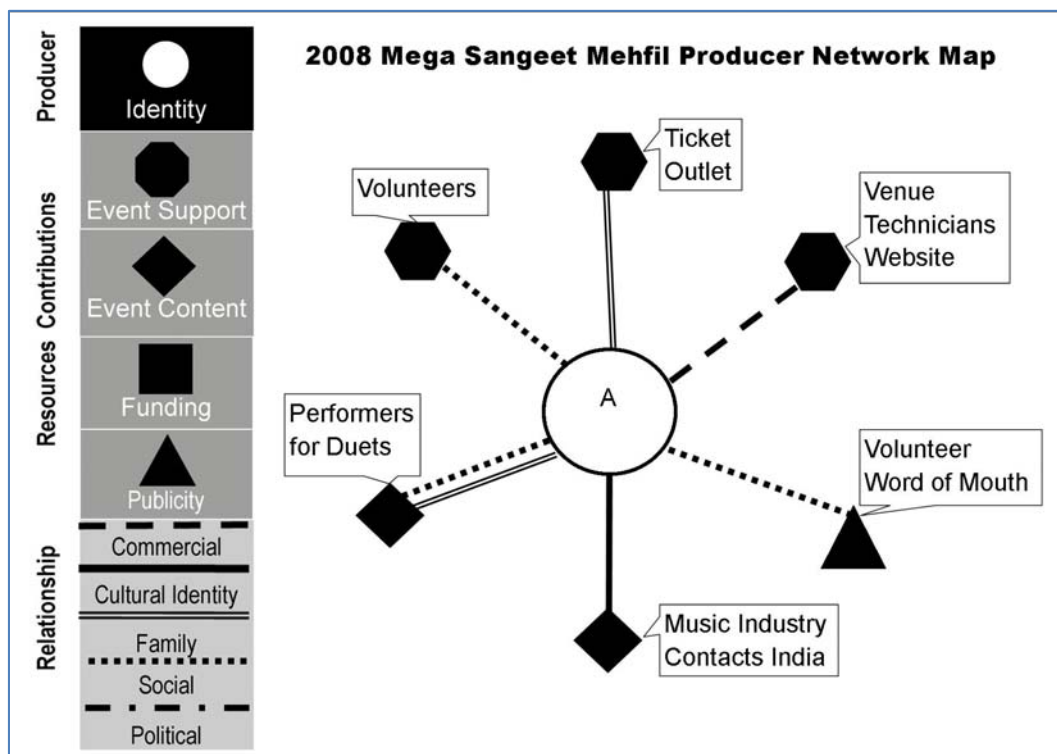


Figure 41. Performer/Producer Bollywood Performance: 2008 Mega Sangeet Mehfil

“A” is an educated investment advisor from a Hyderabadi Muslim family, and has lived and worked in India, the Middle East, Australia and New Zealand. Figure 41 locates producer “A” in the centre of the map. “A” lived in Auckland for 10 years and recently moved to Australia. “A” was a local performer who led a production team to produce this event that featured himself as the lead vocalist. He accessed event support from family and friends who provided marketing, ticketing and administration “A” has a connection to the music industry in India, as he worked for some years as a professional studio singer in the Mumbai film industry. Consequently, he has access to industry resources, including professionally produced instrumental backing tracks to which he performs and status as well as authenticity as a vocalist in the local community.

For the past several years, “A” has held regular mehfiles in his spacious living room for other film song aficionados. The regular attendees form what he has come to define as the ‘Pioneer Family Group’ of 20 or more volunteers who have helped promote and organise larger performance opportunities for “A”. The Pioneer Family Group was a significant resource for “A” to draw upon. Due to their social relationships with “A”, they contributed, as volunteers, many aspects of event support, including marketing legal advice, logistics, stage design and their own social networks for the marketing of ‘invitations’.

In practice, “A’s” mehfiles have been largely solo events in which he accompanies himself with pre-recorded instrumental tracks played on his computer. The only other performers are women singers, usually two or three per event, including his daughter, who is invited to perform solo female songs or duets with “A”. “A” assumed the limited financial risks of his Mega Sangeet Mehfil event, which were fortunately covered by revenue from ticket sales. If there had been a profit, “A” had stipulated that it would be donated to a medical charity in line with the Islamic practice zakah. Zakah is one of the five central tenets or pillars of Islam. Literally translated as ‘purification’ or ‘growth’, it refers to the practice of charity for those in need and for society in general. “A” defined the purpose of the Mega Sangeet Mehfil in terms of zakah, reflecting his cultural identity.

The Pioneer Family Group includes members across faiths and is united by love and nostalgia for the ‘Golden Age’ of Bollywood. Mega Sangeet Mehfil filled 60 percent of the tickets and broke even. The producer was relying on the personal networks of the Pioneer Family group members to fill the seats. Some of the volunteers failed to sell their ‘invitation’ quota contributing significantly to the small size of the audience that attended this concert.

Old Is Gold III (February 2009)

Old Is Gold III was billed as a live musical stage show presented by the Mohammed Rafi Academy of Music. Like the Mega Sangeet Mehfil, Old Is Gold III was conceptualised as a fundraiser, this time for the local Starship Children’s Hospital. This event was a replication of earlier events, Old Is Gold I (February 2007) and Old Is Gold II (July 2008), produced in previous years in the same format, but for the purpose of this case study the 2009 event is compared to the other two case studies. The Old Is Gold series continues to be produced, and has been financially successful and able to accomplish its stated goal,

with over \$18,000 contributed to the Starship Hospital from the profits Old is Gold IV in February 2010, and the profits from the previous Old Is Gold events.

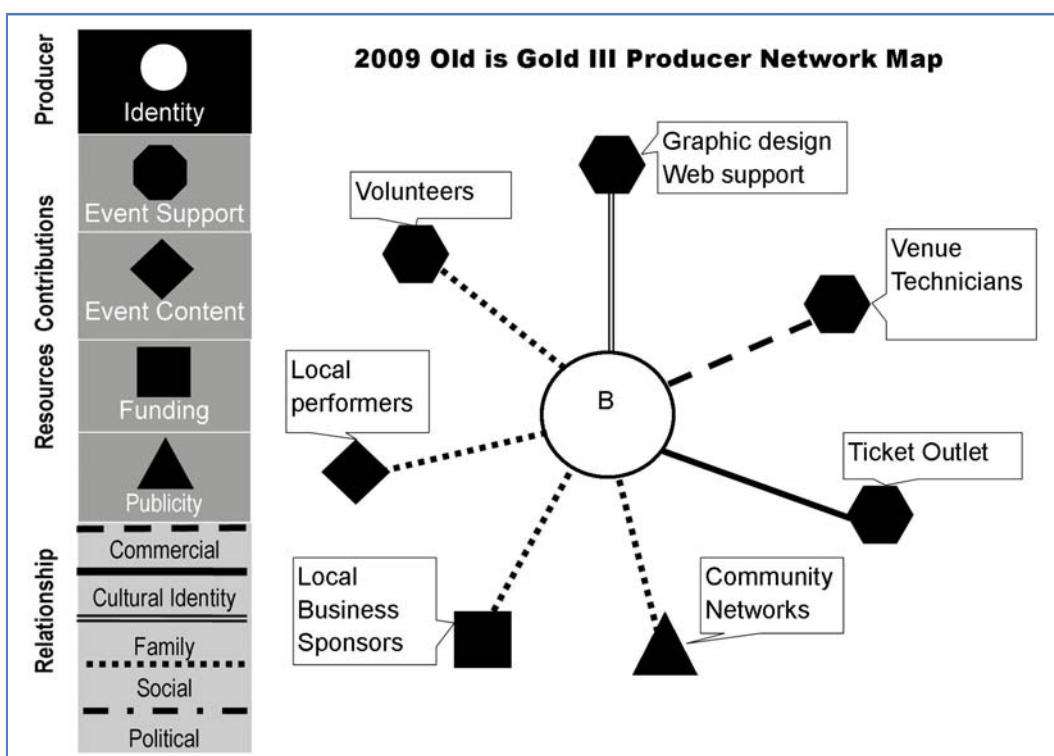


Figure 42. Performer/Producer Bollywood Performance: 2009 Old Is Gold III

Producer “B” identified in Figure 42 is a singer/teacher from Calcutta. “B” arrived in Auckland some 20 years ago with some classical training. He lives simply, and supports himself by teaching film songs and other light vocal forms, and by some limited composing and performing. He has organised his teaching activities as the Mohammed Rafi Academy, named after one of the Mumbai film industry’s greatest playback singers. “B’s” students include young and old singers of varied cultural backgrounds, including those of Indian, Indo-Fijian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi and European origin. He also teaches music in the Hare Krishna Temple (ISKCON) community.

Old Is Gold III featured many of the same film songs as Mega Sangeet Mehfil. The concert included 26 singers in addition to “B”, and accompaniment by local Indian amateur musicians performing on a variety of instruments. Old Is Gold III attracted a full house and raised the \$5,000 goal “B” hoped to donate to Starship Children’s Hospital.

“B” has established social relationships, with event support coming from students, audience and sponsorship who regularly contribute to his events. The event support relationship with Starship Hospital gives this event a wider public profile that goes beyond

the local Indian community, as the sponsorship agreement includes event promotion through the Hospital networks. At the same time, those purchasing tickets feel they are attending a charity event and supporting a worthy cause. “B” recruits free local performers, technicians, printers, and rehearsal space through his established social networks. In exchange, the event supporters are promoted on the event posters and at the event.

Many of those attending this event will be friends and family of “B’s” students and the many amateur musicians performing with “B”. “B” also promotes and advertises his events in the local Indian press, attracting audience from the local Indian communities as well as through his temple and cultural affiliations, including Auckland’s local Bengali Society. His neighbourhood Indian food mart provides additional promotion and ticketing support. Additional event support is provided by “B’s” son, who provides poster design and website expertise. Six sponsors help underwrite the majority of event production expenses, enabling this event to raise money for charity. The local Indian newspaper *Indian Newslink* promotes events for “B”, as the editor feels it is important to support “B’s” altruistic endeavour. *Old Is Gold III* sold out, and this can be credited to “B’s” established social relationships and reputation for supporting a worthy cause in the community.

A Tribute to Kishore Kumar

A Tribute to Kishore Kumar is one many concerts “C” has produced, each featuring himself as the main vocalist, with backup musicians from India. “C” is from a Panjabi family but lived in Pune (in west central India) near Mumbai. He works as a radio producer for the local Indian radio station Radio Tarana. “C” is a very experienced producer who is able to personally arrange sponsorship, overseas negotiations with musicians and ticketing, as well as radio marketing deals. With Bollywood performance experience locally as well as in India, “C” has established a credible reputation as a performer within the local Indian community.

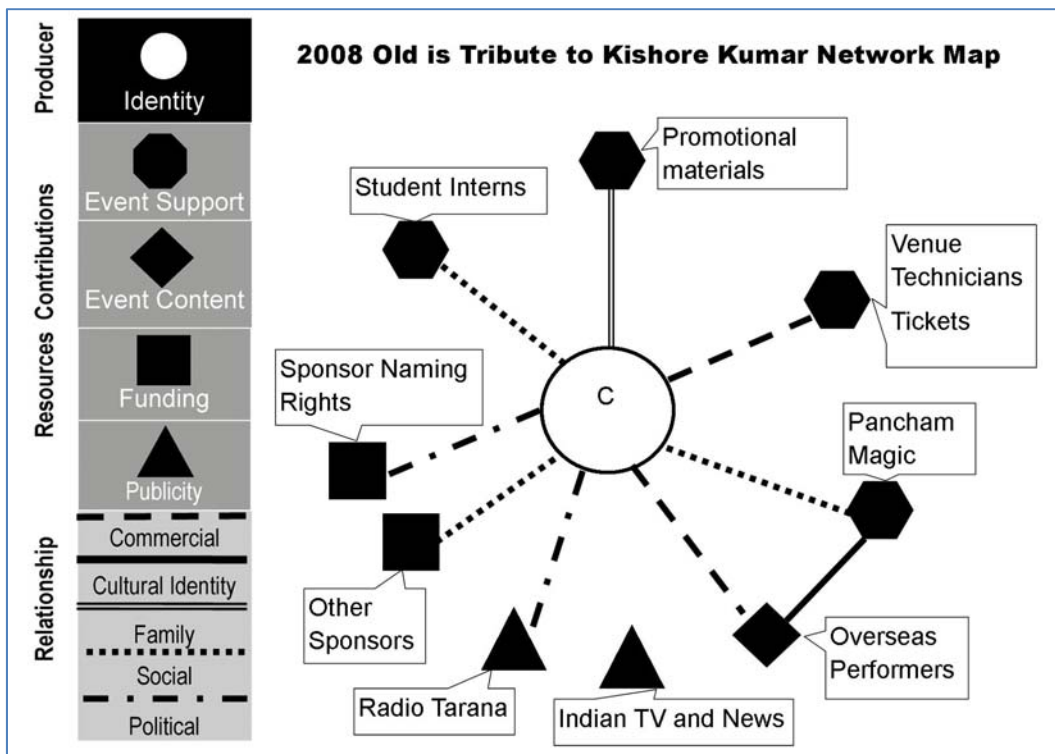


Figure 43. Performer/Producer Bollywood Performance: 2008 A Tribute to Kishore Kumar

Figure 43 demonstrates that Producer “C” has a social relationship with the Pune branch of Pancham Magic, a large and extremely active fan club of the famous Bollywood composer RD Burman. This provides him with access to Indian musicians who play at Pancham Magic events in Pune and for Pune’s Marathi film industry. These musicians are willing to travel to Auckland for a week of rehearsals and a concert every couple of years. This is represented by a commercial line from the musicians to “B” and a cultural identity line between the musicians and the Pancham Magic industry resource box. “C’s” perceived authenticity is reinforced by his access to live professional backup musicians to accompany his singing.

To bring musicians from India requires funding, which “C” was able to access through sponsorship. This sponsorship is not guaranteed from year to year. In exchange for naming rights, the National Technology Institute in Auckland provided airfares as well as 40 volunteer student interns to provide event support. Tickets were sold from home as well as distributed and promoted through local Indian businesses. In exchange, “C” is able to offer the businesses mentions and advertising discounts on Radio Tarana. “C’s” position in the media is powerful and gives him a strategic advantage. A Tribute to Kishore Kumar sold 100 percent of its tickets, with the profits going directly to “C” as the producer. “C”

has created strong relationship clusters that provide him access to a more powerful network than “A” or “B”. His ability to access existing relationships in the media and music industry locally as well as in India has allowed “C” to build a powerful reputation associated with event success. “C’s” position at Radio Tarana is powerful as he controls promotion access to the other performers from the community. “C” also produces large commercial events, including the Asha Bhosle concert discussed later in this chapter.

Auckland is a small community in which musicians struggle for limited resources and to some extent, these three producers are competing with each other for audience, sponsorship, and attention. These three events demonstrate a range of adaptive strategies employed by musicians seeking to position themselves and their musical endeavours in a diasporic setting. The producers initiate different production practices that engage a combination of existing and developing relationships that are necessary for event viability and successfully meeting the event goals.

By and large, each producer was able to access the critical resources, but by very different means. Without an audience and sufficient event support, an event will either not take place or will be publicly perceived a failure and incur producer debt. Both industry and performer resources show variation from event structure to event structure; variation is less a matter of competition than of diverse producer histories, reputations and consequent production models.

Access to sponsorship is the one resource that appears to be significantly different across the three events, especially because all three producers initially conceptualised their events as having sponsors. “A’s” desire to replicate his intimate ‘mehfil’ structure on a large scale and his continuous control at the “helm” made sponsorship impossible to achieve in this case. However, “A” was able to bypass the need for sponsorship by relying on his Pioneer Family social relationships to provide the similar type of support that sponsorship provided for “B” and “C”. For “B” and “C”, sponsorship was accessed through social relationships.

“A” and “B” positioned their events as efforts for charity (although with different outcomes), though in these cases, charity may be more a matter of a justification than an actual outcome. Producer “C” does seek economic profit, although this is highly uncertain and any profits will be limited. For all three singers, however, part of the underlying motivation is a matter of socio-musical positioning and prestige in Auckland’s small Indian communities.

What is more, as long as these musicians were performing on the stage, there was little room for anyone else. Before “A” went to Australia, he continued to produce small mehfil in his home. In “A’s” home, with several of the Pioneer Families in attendance there was no mention of repeating the event. As far as I am aware, without “A” their gatherings have not continued. “B” continues to produce his nostalgic performances. Old Is Gold V was presented in September 2012 and Old is Gold VI in September 2013, under the same production formula, presenting old filmi songs of yesteryear organised through his cultural school. “C” presented a tribute to a Dev Anand, another Bollywood legend, in the same venue with himself as the lead singer in 2011. There are independent reports of at least some degree of quiet competitive gamesmanship by some of these producers seeking to limit publicity and audience attendance for other producers.

On a broader level, nostalgia unites the producers, performers and audience at these events. The venue for all three events continues to be a meeting place for the Indian community. Singers want to perform and be heard, and audiences want to experience their performances in the company of other Indians. These events are, in effect, a sharing of cultural memory which, as Wilson (2005) notes, interacts and is ideologically aligned with nostalgia. “A” explains:

Mega Sangeet Mehfil is a private concert for a gathering of like-minded ‘friends’ who enjoy taking a nostalgic musical journey “down memory lane” into the golden era of Indian cinema. We offer our friends an opportunity to request live performances of their favourite filmi songs ... an integral part of re-living personal memories (“A”, personal communication, 13 December 2009).

“B” describes his motivation as the urge to be closer to people and earn their love and affection. This desire has encouraged him to teach music to a growing number of enthusiasts in the greater Auckland region (“B”, personal communication, 17 May 2009). As I have noted, “C” is motivated, at least in part, by commercial concerns, but he sees commercial potential of the golden age Bollywood content as something that will motivate his audience to support the event as well. “Film songs for the people of Hindustan are an important thing. The audience wants value for each and every dollar and then they will return” (“C”, personal communication, 23 April 2009).

Film songs are important, as “C” notes, in part because of their role in popular culture, providing a sense of shared memory and a sense of identity. Bollywood and the mediated culture that surrounds it creates a cultural bond for many Indian communities, as

the act of participating in events creates the opportunity to “make collective memory a crucial constituent of individual and group identity in the modern world” (Lipsitz, 1990).

Case Study 16: Three Overseas Bollywood Performance Stars

Three of the more successful events identified in Figure 43 were presented in March and April 2011: Asha Bhosle, the legendary pre-liberalisation Bollywood playback singer; Shankar-Ehsaan-Loy, filmi music directors from the 1980s who are still performing their rock-style Bollywood hits; and Rahat Fateh Ali Khan, qawwali musicians from Pakistan who also include songs from the Bollywood repertoire in this genre. The performances varied considerably in terms of the Bollywood musical styles represented. All three events appealed to a large intergenerational and intercultural Indian audience. Producers of commercial events featuring overseas artists are competing with arts festivals and other government-subsidised events.²⁴ The following three case studies are compared and contrasted in order to analyse and address issues of production practice and sustainability. The first case study presents an event produced by “C”, identified in the previous case study as having produced A Tribute to Kishore Kumar.

Asha Bhosle

Asha Bhosle is an Indian Bollywood playback singer who is considered a living legend. She was born in 1933 and trained in Indian classical music. She and her sister Lata Mangeshkar ruled the film playback singing arena from the 1950s to the 1990s. Asha has recorded over 12,000 songs in over 20 Indian languages. According to the World Records Academy, an international organisation that certifies world records, Asha is the most recorded artist in the world (Jolly, 2012).

“C”, along with members of the local Indian production community and his international networks, spent a year organising a concert starring Asha Bhosle, with Amit Kumar, also a well-known Bollywood playback singer, and 18 musicians from Bollywood. The 6,000-seat The Trusts Stadium attracted an audience of what has been estimated to be over 3,500. The event required the involvement of many sponsors and event supporters from the local community. “C” has an established position as a producer in the Auckland community, as this is one of over a dozen concerts he has successfully produced. The evening offered “C” a rare opportunity to sing with Asha Bhosle’s band in the second set, a

²⁴ See Chapter Four for details on the Auckland Arts Festival and The Manganiyar Seduction.

prestigious step up from his Tribute to Kishore Kumar concert in the previous case study. This was an Indian event that was produced for and by the Indian community. The Auckland Asha Bhosle concert was only possible as Auckland was arranged as a stop on her Australasian tour.

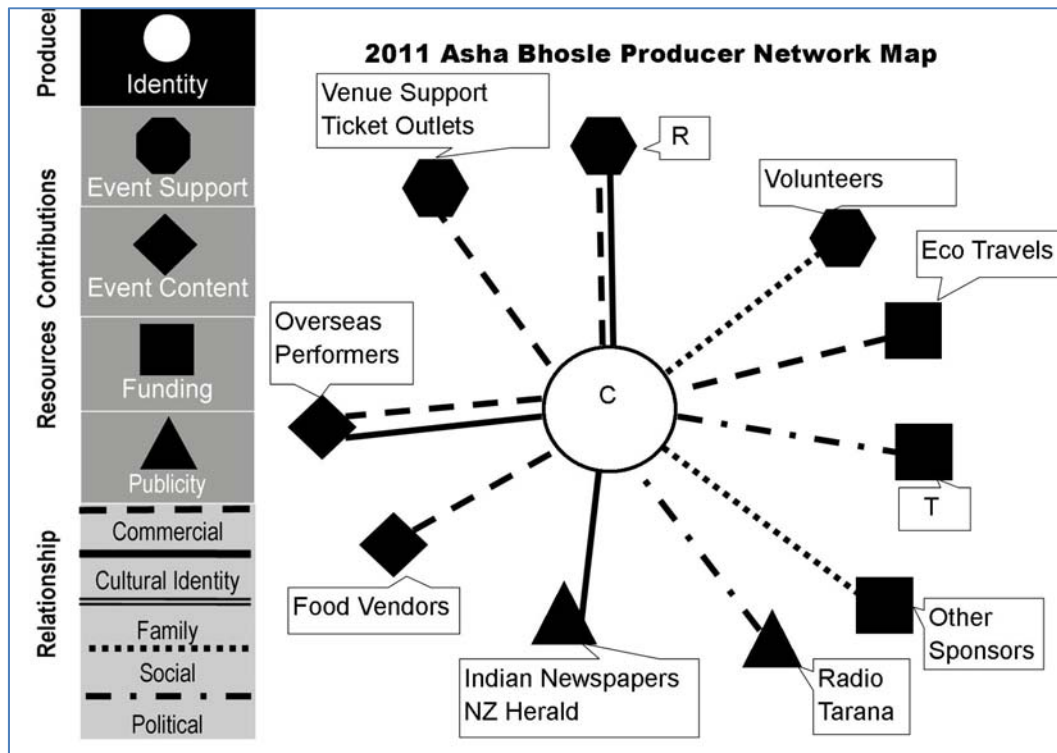


Figure 44. 2011 Commercial Producer Networks: Asha Bhosle Concert

In Figure 44, “C” is identified as the event producer. “C” has access to the overseas performers through more than one relationship. He shares cultural identity with the overseas performers as a filmi singer, and he has a commercial relationship with the performers through contractual agreements. The concert poster features two names prominently alongside the name of “C’s” event company: “T”, and Eco Travels, a local travel agency. “T” was a husband and wife team of new arrivals from Mumbai trying their luck as event producers. They appeared quickly and disappeared hastily as leaving they left for a better life in Australia after realising the complex nature of the Auckland event scene. Not wishing to disclose details, an event they produced during this period lost considerable amounts of money. Another unsuccessful producer, in 2011, lost over \$80,000 and went into hiding.

“T” and “C” share regional identity, and “T” served as a resource for “C” as event support. In return, “T” was aligning with “C” in order to launch their new event company,

as was evident by the very visible marketing banners around the concert venue and the branding on the poster and stage. “T” created an uncomfortable production environment that included heated conflict and divisions within the production community. “R” contributed to the success of the event with his technical expertise.

“R” is also an event producer who contributed event support through two relationship types with “C”: cultural identity (as a producer) and commercial (as an event consultant). “R” is an experienced Auckland producer who regularly assists at events with his technical and production knowledge and who ensured that the sound for the event was professional. “R” is a systems analyst who has been in Auckland with his family for 10 years. He is from Chennai, and has worked in Bangladesh, India, Mongolia and now Auckland. “R” began producing classical concerts for community musicians when he first arrived in Auckland and has built a very good reputation as a producer as well as an event consultant involved in some of the biggest and most successful Auckland commercial concerts.

The audience was made up of a diverse range of ages and cultural identities from within Auckland’s Indian communities. Asha Bhosle pitched her songs to the cultural diversity of the audience by presenting songs in a variety of languages and engaging the audience through cultural differences. For example, she would sing a film hit in Marathi and the Marathi speakers in the audience would start dancing in the aisles, moving with the cultural distinctiveness of their regional style of movement. The crowd went wild and were dancing in their seats.

This concert was perceived as a once-in-a-lifetime experience, as Asha is in the twilight of her performing career. The ticket prices were high (\$150 for the best reserved seats down to \$55 for general seating). The event was held at The Trusts Stadium, which is not as popular as the Vodafone Events Centre. The event did not sell out, but it did attract a large enthusiastic audience of over 3,500, which was impressive considering how many events were happening in Auckland that night. The tickets were twice the price of The Manganiyar Seduction, which was held on the same Saturday night at the Auckland Arts Festival. The concert was also competing with other Auckland Arts Festival events: the Pasifika Festival at Western Springs which attracted over 200,000 people, and Auckland Derby at the Ellerslie Race Track, as well as St. Patrick’s Day celebrations. These factors may have deterred some ticket buyers from the Asha Bhosle concert, but it is clear most ticket buyers these events are aimed at different segment of the market. For the producer, however, enough tickets were sold as normally expected to make a profit.

Rahat Fateh Ali Khan

Aariya Entertainment registered its domain name 19 December 2011 and produced its first event in March 2012, presenting Rahat Fateh Ali Khan with a troupe of 15 musicians and two technical engineers from Pakistan. Rahat is a world-renowned musician primarily known for his melodic renditions of qawwali (a devotional music of Sufis) and ghazals (a semi-classical form of Indian vocal music), but also for his renditions of Bollywood repertoire including popular hits made famous by his illustrious late uncle, Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan. The evening was promoted in the local Indian press with high expectations: “Expect an unforgettable evening as Rahat Fateh Ali Khan and his extraordinary ensemble transport us into the beautiful world of soulful music for the first time in New Zealand” (Bureau Staff, 2012d).

Aariya Entertainment as being linked with an Australian event company, Red Chillies Media, who are also new and who pride themselves on bringing quality shows to Australia. The founder of Red Chillies Media is Nash Patel who, in 2010, founded his company to present Rahat on his first tour to Australia. Aariya Entertainment was launched to produce the 2012 Rahat show in Auckland and remains in business, producing its second concert in early 2013 and presenting Rahat again in late 2013 at the Logan Campbell Centre.

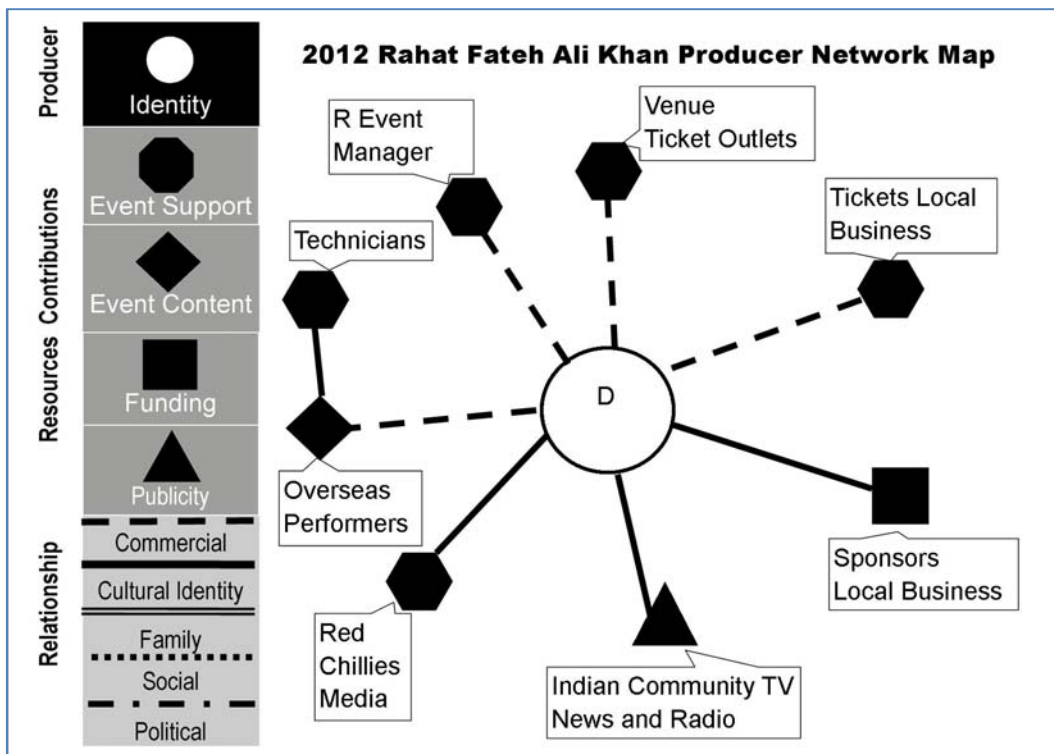


Figure 45. Commercial Producer Networks: 2012 Rahat Fateh Ali Khan Concert

“D” in the producer identity circle in Figure 45 is Aariya Entertainment. “D” employed “R” as in the preceding case study on the Asha Bhosle concert, as an event coordinator to oversee the event logistics. They worked closely with the producers of the Australia show, Red Chillies Media. “D” attracted sponsorship support from a wide range of local businesses, including food outlets, money exchanges, cleaning services, medical centres, chartered accountants, a hotel for accommodation, a liquor outlet, media partners as well as others. “D” produced a glossy souvenir programme thanking the sponsors, profiling Aariya and the artists as well as securing an endorsement from the High Commissioner for Pakistan (Aariya Entertainment, 2012). The event was promoted across the local Indian media.

The concert was sold out, and the popular style of qawwali combined with Bollywood hits was just what the audience wanted. It started on time and finished on time. The security guards adhered to the artists’ request that no photographs be taken, politely asking members of the audience to put their cell phones and cameras away.

The concert was not without technical problems. The sound was problematic, especially for those in the expensive seats in the front rows. The reverberations of high frequencies proved ear-splitting for some, particularly in the first half, and members of the

audience were seen holding their ears. The issues were blamed on the two sound technicians travelling with Rahat and his troupe from Mumbai. The technicians are represented in Figure 45 by an event support box with a commercial relationship to the performers. Rahat's technicians and "R" struggled to control the sound. "R", with vast experience and technical authority at this particular venue and with the support of "D", eventually was able to take control, saving the second half of the concert. A reporter from the Indian Weekender reviewing the concert commented:

When will acoustics technicians realise that over-the-top decibel levels completely destroy Indian vocalists' finer essays? Poor sound tuning has been the bane of Indian music concerts in Auckland for years and it is time event organisers step up to the plate and deal with the problem with some degree of finality. Sadly, the subtleties of the celebrated Ustad's awesome vocal calisthenics were drowned out for a large part of the first half of the concert. Aariya's managers have said that the sound management was supervised by sound engineers who had travelled with Rahat and that Aariya had almost no control over it. Fortunately, wiser counsels seem to have prevailed and the sound in the second half was decidedly better, though far from ideal. Post interval, the Ustad from Pakistan who has succeeded in straddling across the subcontinent with his soulful singing, pleased the audience with his more recent Hindi film favourites. (Nadkarni, 2012)

When speaking with a member of the audience at the interval, questions of why there was not more pure qawwali content in the first half of the concert came up. It was suggested that the Auckland audience was not sophisticated enough to know that Rahat was a devotional singer from Pakistan, perceiving him instead as a Bollywood performer from Mumbai. Reflecting on this comment further, the words of Ashwani Sharma (1996) came to mind in his discussion of the important role Rahat's uncle, Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan, played in bringing qawwali out of Pakistan and transforming it into a popular musical genre.

Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan is an example of how the global marketing of world music elevated a genre of music and an artist to global stardom in the 1980s through Peter Gabriel's record company and touring with WOMAD.²⁵ Rahat inherited his family's

²⁵ Qawwali is a very popular syncretic musical form in Pakistan and north India, as well as across the South Asian diaspora. Other qawwali musicians during this period were touring outside of Pakistan, including the Sabri Brothers. Although Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan was a major figure in qawwali, he was promoted specifically to an audience outside of South Asia. He was marketed as the world's greatest exponent of qawwali through recordings with Real World Records in the UK – Peter Gabriel's production house – and the international WOMAD festival with which Nusrat toured. The 1980s brought opportunities for Nusrat to

qawwali legacy, a factor in helping him launch his own very successful career. “D” did not seek to attract the white middle-class WOMAD audience to this concert. The event was produced by the Indian community for the Indian community and only promoted through the Indian media. There were very few ‘other’ faces in the audience. “D’s” choice of Rahat, the venue, the marketing and the timing of the event proved a winning formula as they delivered one of the only sold-out shows in Auckland during the period of this study.

The next case study features a young producer, “E”, who was not able to attend the Rahat concert as he had other commitments. When “E” checked his mobile after the show he had 30 messages from friends complaining about the experience, confirming the power of critique in the digital age.

Shankar-Ehsaan-Loy

“E” presented Bollywood filmi music directors Shankar-Ehsaan-Loy three weeks before the Rahat Fateh Ali Khan event, at the same venue. Like Rahat, the Shankar-Ehsaan-Loy concert had multi-generational audience appeal. Shankar-Ehsaan-Loy is an Indian musical trio consisting of Shankar Mahadevan, Ehsaan Noorani and Loy Mendonsa. They have been in the Bollywood film music business together since 1985. Their many hits have a decided ‘rock’ flavour, and represent some of the most popular and critically acclaimed music directors of Bollywood. They have composed music for over 50 film soundtracks across four Indian languages (PTI, 2010).

produce movie scores and albums for various labels in Pakistan, Europe, Japan and the USA. He engaged in collaborations and experiments with western artists, becoming well-known globally. Although Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan produced vast numbers of albums for small independent Asian labels, it was only after working with Real World that he emerged as a major global star. Nusrat passed away in 1997 after a career managing and performing with his family’s qawwali party for 20 years (Sharma, 1996, pp. 24-25).

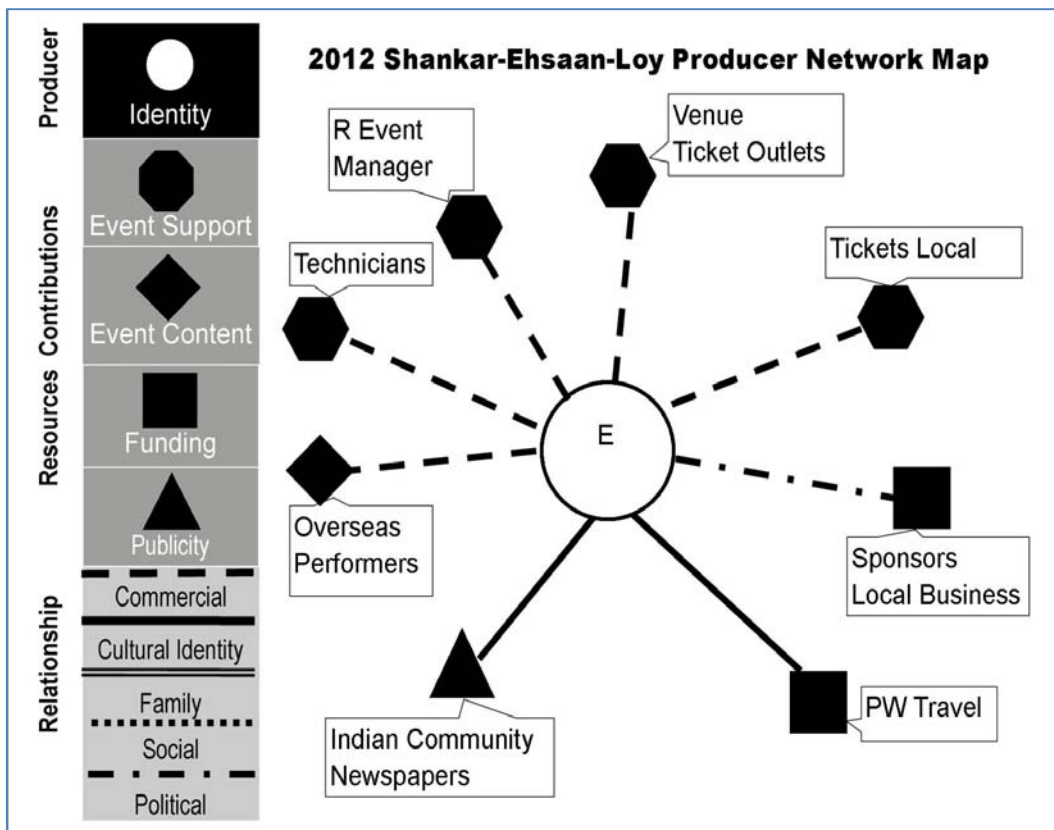


Figure 46. Commercial Producer Networks: 2012 Shankar-Ehsaan-Loy Concert

The production network for this concert is simpler than the previous two examples. “E” is the producer under his Rockgarden Entertainments brand, as can be seen in Figure 46, the production map for this concert. “E” hired “R” as an event manager to ensure all technical aspects were looked after. Panworld Travel was a major sponsor and gets credit for presenting the show. The event did not sell out, but the house was very full. The sound and lighting were well-produced. From the vantage point of seats halfway back in the middle of the audience the sound was perfect, the stage well designed and the stage lighting was excellent. “A” and “R” have worked together within many production teams in Auckland over the past four years of this study. The producer believes the key to success is vision, management and a refusal to cut corners, focusing instead on ensuring the quality of the events. When I asked “E” why his show technically worked, he attributed its success to spending extra money on sound and using the best local experts. The sound was balanced, as “R” was in control of the technical issues and experienced in the technical details required at this venue. The technicians were paid and treated as professionals.

It is often the technical details, as demonstrated in the previous case study, which can make or break the event experience. Producers require budgets sufficient to pay for appropriate sound and lighting expertise so that the performers are able to deliver a

professional show. The event experience can make or break a producer's reputation and hence any chance at securing a career in the business.

“R” believes that producers can only successfully bring the same performer every five years as the audience is so small. “R” is part of a new group of emerging producers that are trying to grow the audience base for large quality, shows, observing that the growing population is creating more demand for concerts. Creating links with producers who are promoting performers in Australia is the most ideal situation, but does not always work out. The economic benefit is clear, as the airfares and performance fees can be split and shared. Most shows come with an entourage of up to 20 people, making the costs astronomical. In the case of Shankar-Ehsaan-Loy, the trio arrived with an entourage of 17.

The local producers always have a lot to criticize when it comes to each other's shows, illustrating the notion that reputation accrues to both individuals and groups, reflecting notions of legitimacy and community norms (Gerstin, 1998). The Shankar-Ehsaan-Loy and Rahat Fateh Ali Khan concerts were both presented by first-time producers of large commercial events in Auckland. Those with more experience want to help, but can also be seen as quite threatening to those who are younger or newer to the scene. This can be particularly true for those who are experiential learners. The “old guard” of commercial producers have strong opinions as to how events are managed and produced:

“E” wanted to do it himself [Shankar-Ehsaan-Loy] but he needed to listen to those who have the knowledge. He needed helping hands, which he sought in the end, but the trade-off was the \$10,000 buffer that could have been saved by better initial planning. If he had listened to me – I know the business and how to cut the deals. Three to six months slogging day in and day out is required. The new ones don't realise how much work and how cutthroat it is. The Fateh Ali Khan show was “D's” first show. He started thinking he would do it differently. He did not understand his marketing, with big posters that were too cluttered and not effective. He expected sponsors to pay top-notch dollars for top-notch performers. It does not work that way. New producers go to the grocery shop or bank thinking they will be given money to support their event. Realistically I am not going to pull in 2,000 customers with my event – there is little in it for big sponsors. The sponsor's name gets mentioned on Radio Tarana and the posters at the event. I am not going to get back my \$5,000 in other ways. Here [Auckland] the producers [from India] don't understand sponsorship. (RI, personal communication, 4 May 2011)

Asha Bhosle, Rahat Fateh Ali Khan and Shankar-Ehsaan-Loy all performed music from the popular Bollywood film repertoire in their own unique musical styles. These

performers have developed significant reputations and global public profiles within the Indian diaspora. Auckland offers a unique market for these types of performers.

The success of his events is determined by a number of factors:

Members of the local Indian community who have migrated from India will pay high ticket prices. In Auckland, the audience can see the performers at a much closer range than in India as the venues are smaller, as well as there is a greater chance to personally meet the stars. For those who have never been to India, these types of performances are opportunities to experience Indian performers they have never seen live. This is why his is why the events are successful and people are willing to pay top dollar. (RI, personal communication, 3 November 2011)

Few events did run without technical problems. The Shankar-Ehsaan-Loy concert had good technical support with excellent lighting and sound. There was confusion in the parking lot over whether the parking was free or paid, with queues of people standing around in front of the venue's ticket machines. The Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan show brought their own technicians who insisted on controlling the soundboard to the discomfort of the audience. At the Asha Bhosle concert, security attempted to stop the audience dancing in the aisles and the stage lighting was harsh and visually uncomfortable. These are technical issues that are headaches for many producers, and can affect their professional reputations.

Conclusion

This chapter discussed the issues and risk factors commercial producers face presenting concerts in a city with a small audience pool. Such events are high-risk endeavours in which there have been big winners and losers. Over 30 percent of the large events captured in the snapshot were not economically viable. From this data, it is clear that new migrants struggled for successful production outcomes and that the market was dominated by a few producers. Established production networks within the Auckland event community, combined with established relationships overseas, contributed to strategic advantages for some producers. For most of the producers of the commercial concerts identified in this chapter, profits as well community prestige were primary motivators.

The six case studies compared and contrasted differing production practices in order to examine how some producers created economically and socially sustainable events. The first three case studies demonstrated how events that look similar can actually involve quite different production practices and motivations. The underlying common factor is the desire for local artists to perform in public and be recognised by their

communities. Although the singers came from cultural, religious and linguistic backgrounds, they shared the commonality of the golden age of old Bollywood. Their nostalgic approach to performance binds them with specific types of cultural representation that attracts specific audiences. Nostalgia plays an important role in binding cultural communities.

Wilson (2005) describes nostalgia as the longing for home. With this in mind, for the Indian diaspora one might say that home is where the music is. To feel at home is to know things are in their places and so are you; it is a state of mind that need not depend on actual location. The three local Bollywood singer/producer case studies demonstrated how the Indian diaspora gathers to share the commonality of communal memory through song. This can also be said for the large commercial shows, but not in the same way, as it is the performer/producers that have created a local world in which they star. The closeness and ability for the audience to request specific songs allows the audience access to a sense of intimacy that is not possible to access with performers who are superstars in cities with larger populations.

Auckland is a small community in which producers struggle for limited resources and, to a varying extent, compete for audience, sponsorship, and the building of reputation and alliances. The successful commercial producers adopt a range of strategies to nurture existing relationships and develop new ones to access the resources necessary for their events. A producer's access to other performers, audience, event support, sponsors and publicity are factors key to success, alongside how the producer is perceived by the community. Over a period of time, the producer may find it difficult to replicate events on a regular basis due to changes in the event market.

When considering the economic realities of producing such events, it is important to recognise that commercial events require large public support to break even, and in most cases, the audience pool for Indian events is limited by the size of the Indian communities. It is not an uncommon practice for entrepreneurs to mortgage their house to finance a potentially lucrative event. The economic feasibility of these events relies on attracting audiences willing to pay for tickets.

Some of these producers were unable to attract audiences outside of their immediate community. From conversations with some producers, it can be surmised that the enthusiasm of new migrants trying to break into the commercial event market was due to a perception that it was going to be easy money. Understanding the local audience market, as key stakeholders, are a valuable asset and a form of power. The producers who

have an event portfolio, in which they are not dependent of the profit of a single event, are able to survive longer in the market.

This chapter demonstrated how tough the market can be, as well as how much enjoyment can be gained for successful producers and the community they engage in presenting meaningful event experiences. There are some producers who have established strong networks that include valuable sponsorship partners. Some commercial producers experienced financial windfalls and others lost out as illustrated in Figure 40. As most financial issues are not made public, the data is vague and not commonly shared outside of the immediate ‘family’.

Of the 25 commercial events identified in Figure 40, the successful among them have been those who have managed to build relationships with resource-rich individuals, institutions (often universities) and, more recently, festival organisations (Johnson, 2007). For these individuals, building institutional relationships has been difficult, especially in the contemporary context of increasing competition and a shrinking institutional/funding base. Commercial producers personally incur costs from venues, artists’ fees, publicity, travel, and hospitality, and gain revenue from sponsorship and ticket sales. Perhaps the most important decisions for commercial producers are the choice of performer(s), contract negotiations, venue choice and the date of the event.

The successful commercial producers worked collectively, creating alliances that form ‘production’ communities. Through collaborating with like-minded individuals, they formed networks that shared skills for mutual gain. The choice of performers is determined by availability, but also by the performer’s ability to attract an audience from a specific market segment and by the producer understanding how to attract the specific target market.

This factor is important, as successful events provide experiences of cultural meaning to specific audiences. In turn, profits help support their families but at the same time create ‘collectivity’ and contribute to the social sustainability of the Indian communities. Auckland does not have a single producer solely living off commercial events targeted at the Indian audience as their fulltime employment. This can be a hard concept for new migrants to fathom when arriving from other counties with cities that host large populations of Indian residents. Few have been able to emerge and produce a successful event like the Rahat Fateh Ali Khan concert on their first try as event producers in Auckland.

Underlying the success of the marketing, in that case study, was the Australia-based event company through which the Auckland producers were delivering. Without such an alliance in place, the event would have not been feasible. Other producers over the course of this study have incurred so much debt through their events that they have gone into hiding and/or fled the country. Many of the successful commercial producers are engaged in events that they personally want to see happen, as they view the event experience as beneficial from multiple perspectives, with potential financial and reputation benefits as well as creating event experiences for themselves, their families, and their communities.

Chapter Five: Global India in New Zealand – Producing Desi Performance

Introduction

This chapter discusses producers of events that showcase India as part of a global, transnational performance scene. The events discussed offer a number of case studies, ranging from DJ mix dance parties to family-oriented rock concerts. The producers are presenting events that feature popular music and reflect the emerging voices of the recently arrived migrants and those inhabiting a transcultural club scene. One common feature that unites these events is their use of the mainstream popularity of Bollywood repertoire. Nevertheless, the Bollywood repertoire is used in markedly different ways in attempts to attract different kinds of audiences while presenting different popular genres. Another feature common to all of these events is the ‘global’ outlook of their producers.

In contrast to the producers in previous chapters, the producers of the events in this chapter bring different cultural perspectives to the content in their events based on the producer’s individual understandings of India as a place they have lived in, visited or vicariously experienced through family and the virtual world and the world of film. For these producers, hip hop and rock are as much a part of Indian identity as sitar or Bharatanatyam (Caswell, 2012; Chakravorty, 2009; Diethrich, 1999; Dudrah, 2002; Maira, 2002; Shankar, 2008). They create events that celebrate a young, global, hip Indian identity.

The initial focus of this chapter is an in-depth case study of a successful DJ mix dance party that featured both local and overseas performers. This study is followed by an examination of a number of local nightclub and family-oriented events. The influx of new skilled migrants and students from India is increasing the number of productions and types of events occurring in Auckland, which in turn is resulting in an increase in competition for audience, venues and media attention.

The global influence of satellite TV, the Internet and instant forms of communication create platforms through which producers can promote their event companies, their events, as well as the performers that they are presenting in their events. These performers sample, reinterpret and transform what they understand to be Indian music through their ‘global’ eyes and ears, and in doing so, challenge established understandings of Indian culture and identity.

Being Global in Auckland

The producers in this chapter embody many of the different aspects of globalisation discussed in Chapter 2. For example, one of the producers, featured in this chapter comes from a Goan Catholic background, another is from Andhra Pradesh, another from Bihar and yet another from Delhi. For the Goan, styles and genres such as jazz, pop and rock, have been much more culturally relevant in his life and for his community than Hindi film song. After a career in western music in Mumbai and East Asia, this producer has continued to pursue these genres professionally in Auckland. Nevertheless, as I will describe below, a recent encounter with Hindi film song led him to broaden his musical activity to include the production of film-song-based events.

Other producers in this chapter demonstrate yet other ways in which the sound of film song and its place in popular culture are changing. Although many of these producers continue to engage with film song, they do so in more contemporary and more global ways. Such producers almost inevitably are engaged with the popular global sounds of hip hop. In recent years, hip hop has been transformed from a specific American culture popular genre to a global musical style (Mitchell, 2002). Hip hop has come to occupy a range of positions in contemporary Indian culture, from mainstream Bollywood film scores (for example, the score for the 2008 film *Singh is Kinng*) to the alternative voices of rap artists living in India and throughout the diaspora. Many of the Indians who listen to global styles such as hip hop describe themselves as “desi”.

Being Desi in Auckland

Desi is a term related to the word ‘desh’ that, in Hindi, means country. Thus, in India, the term can often imply someone who is rustic or countrified. In much of the diaspora, however, young Indians began to use it to mean a person of Indian origin, rather like the African-American slang ‘homie’ or ‘homeboy’, meaning a person of one’s region or neighbourhood. Increasingly, this word has been applied to the alternative youth voice in a ‘global India’ that spans the UK, Europe, North America, Australasia, Africa, the Middle East, the Caribbean and other countries in Asia.

Shankar (2008) maintains that the term ‘desi’ initially appeared and came into usage in the late 1980s (in the USA at least) by young diasporic Indians (NRIs)²⁶ who adopted it as an explicit declaration of Indian identity, often in contrast to the unobtrusive

²⁶ NRI is short for ‘Non-Resident Indian’ and is a term used to designate members of Indian origin who live outside of India.

‘conformist’ attitudes of their elders. Desi marks the inception of diasporic, racially marked, and generationally influenced consciousness. The global growth of the term reflects the growth of the transnational Indian diaspora and the hybrid nature of the youth making new lives in new homelands (Safran, Sahoo, & Lal, 2008). The emergent demographic category desi is recognised as a small but lucrative global cultural niche market that incorporates notions of race, language and ethnicity, and that must be taken into consideration when discussing popular youth culture (Shankar, 2008).

Desi identity (and desi events) often challenge traditional views held by many of the older Indian producers. Many desi events are promoted to appeal not just to the Indian communities, but also to audiences from ‘other’ communities. Event success is dependent on the producer’s understanding of how to attract diverse audiences, including non-Indians who value contemporary fashion and diversity.

In Auckland, the term desi has been used to brand production companies such as the “100% Desi Crew”, which produces international and local DJ mix/hip hop performance acts in local clubs, and Desi International Showbiz, which produces the annual Bollywood High School Dance Competitions. Because of desi’s Hindi roots and broadly northern provenance, many Indians from the south do not relate to the term despite embracing Indian youth culture. One Auckland producer from the southern city of Hyderabad adopted ‘desi’ reluctantly as a branding or marketing strategy in the process of producing international desi events.

The “sliding subjectivities” (Kaur & Kalra, 1996, p. 219) of desi identity are exemplified by a popular Auckland desi DJ who describes his music as Bollywood mixes with Panjabi bhangra, garba, hip hop, R&B and house with laser lights and sound²⁷. In their study of popular Indian culture in the UK, Kaur and Kalra (ibid) describe similarly complex musical mixes. Their study showed that hip hop groups formed by young Indians of Gujarati or Bengali heritage have used Panjabi as their musical language for over 20 years in their production of ‘desi’ hip hop events. Both these Auckland DJs and these UK hip hop performers challenge fixed notions of what is ‘Indian culture’ and reflect growing urban patterns in which the event content as well as audiences relate to a transcultural world (Caswell, 2012; Chakravorty, 2009; Dudrah, 2002; Maira, 2002).

²⁷ More information can be found at <http://djjimmy.co.nz>.

The Transcultural Nature of Popular Culture

Rockefeller (2011) argues that culture is no longer constrained to one locality, and, like Appadurai (1996), believes that culture is experienced translocally across the globe. This process of globalisation is characterised by increasingly mobile flows of people, and expands the perception of how the historically rooted notion of diaspora is perceived (Appadurai, 1996). Changes in technology, new uses of media, and other factors can increase both globalised content and people's perceptions of those changes (Appadurai, 1996; Hannerz, 1997; Rockefeller, 2011).

As the 'globalised' nature of the Indian diaspora creates multiple notions of 'Indianness' and has given rise to the development of *mélange* cultures that span multiple locations and identities (Pieterse, 1994). This is nothing new to Indian popular culture, as in the case of the Bollywood film song and dance repertoire. "Foreign musical instruments, aspects of western harmonic practice, stylistic features, and complete melodies or melodic fragments were all employed by Indian film composers. Their use in India's most popular and widely consumed music, the inconsistency of the process, and the sometimes inarguable success of the results further obfuscate the identity of film song, especially in the context of national identity"(G.D. Booth, 2009, p. 67).

Armbrust emphasises the multiple influences and identities that inform popular culture: "A trans-regional understanding of popular culture in any society should not be mistaken for an unprecedented cultural condition. People, things, cultural practices, information, and economic resources have always moved across previously established borders. The patterns of the movements have never been stable" (Armbrust, 2008, p. 221). Kraidy suggests that such cultural mixes may be hybrid, but maintains that hybridity is a "risky notion; it is imperative to situate every analysis of hybridity in specific contexts in which the specific conditions that shape hybridity are addressed. Hybrid cultures retain residual meanings that interconnect race, language and ethnicity" (2005, p. 1).

The concept of *desi*, as described above, embodies the realities, if not the labels of these theorists. International artists such as Hard Kaur or Imran Khan brand themselves as *desi*; they are hip hop artists that have been raised in the communities of 'global India', outside the sub-continent. They are global performers who live in a transnational world, producing global performance styles and sounds through their music and simultaneously retaining affiliations with their Indian (and specifically Panjabi) cultural heritage through some of their linguistic and repertoire choices.

The producer stories in this chapter demonstrate a variety of migratory flows, many challenging the notions of 'Indianness' that have motivated or informed the events studied in earlier chapters. The global perspectives and cultural understandings of these producers naturally align them with musicians and styles that represent a similarly global perspective and affect event production practices as well as content. The more successful producers have developed marketing skills that attract like-minded audiences from inside and outside of the Indian cultural communities.

The activities of these emerging producers representing 'global India' have brought new types of events to Auckland and are challenging traditional notions of production practice, resulting in a more commercially competitive event marketplace and events targeting new market segmentations. In many cases, their presence in Auckland is a result of the change in migration laws in 2003, as discussed Chapter 1. This has been a crucial factor throughout this study, as the policy change has resulted in an influx of 'new' Indians into Auckland who are young and highly educated and who view the world from a global perspective. This migrant group has mixed with the local desis who have been raised in Auckland.

Generally, Indian families in Auckland either take a liberal approach to parties and relationships or conform to conservative, traditional, conventional Indian values. Generally speaking, some children of the more liberal parents are creating raves, clubs and dance party events while the children of the more conservative parents are creating Bollywood dance competitions, theatre and concerts. Of course there are variations in this simplistic comparison. What is important to note is that the growing influx of international students from India without parental guidance support raves, clubs and dance party events as important elements of their social activities, especially those living in the city centre near the university precinct.

Changing Event Production Practices

The following DJ mix case study examines new production practices in which the producers are building new audiences by implementing creative marketing strategies and engaging in strong production alliances of like-minded producers who are not motivated purely by economic gain. What differentiates success and failure is the sustainability of their production practices. An emerging trend in Auckland has been the ability of some of the new migrants to form sustainable production alliances amongst themselves as well as linking into the more established producers. Alliances are teams of like-minded people

sharing expertise and resources, creating production models that represent a shift from the more conventional business model that has traditionally been applied by commercial producers.

Historically, individual producers have created their own events within a closed ‘business partner circle’ model. The dominating producers relied on a one-off event business model, involving previously involved community sponsors and media partnerships. This production model proved possible in a community that was dominated by a single Indian radio station, a relatively small, homogeneous Indian population, and relatively little competition. In this situation, conventional promotion campaigns within the Indian community were sufficient to make many of these events successful.

This model was one that dominated much of the cultural production practice in India during the post-colonial period in the latter half of the twentieth century. The individual producer model has become difficult to sustain in twenty-first century Auckland, as illustrated by previous examples discussed in Chapter 4. These two models reflect different visions of Indian culture and business practice that correspond to changes that have taken place in India as the country has moved from its former post-colonial identity to its new global outlook. Finally, there is an extent to which those who pursue one or another of these models tend to produce content that is similarly a reflection of post-colonial and global identities. The global identification creates a clear pathway to production practices with global perspectives and associations with ‘other’ cultures.

Indian diaspora communities around the world are rapidly growing through increased migration rather than birth rates (Bhattacharya, 2008). Within the new waves of migrants, some have arrived with ‘global’ performance skills and event production experience. They have created bands and innovative performances in the event marketplace. In the increasingly competitive event battleground, the successful producers are those who can form production alliances. Production alliances that bring power to the producers who are engaged in developing events are the key to sustainability, and they are an emerging trend in events run by those who identify with a ‘global India’ orientation. This production model is discussed and analysed in the following case studies through popular music and dance events that include a variety of popular genres, such as DJ mix, bhangra, world, hip hop and Bollywood live band performances, and which have taken place in Auckland during the course of this study.

The following case studies demonstrate how the location of music genres and the cultural symbols they invoke take on transnational and transcultural variances connected to

the producer's and the performer's social, geographical and historical contexts (Kaur & Kalra, 1996, p. 219). The global development of Indian popular music culture does not have a geographical centre, as technology is wrapped with musical innovation that is constantly flowing and responding to the new cultural configurations of 'global India'.

Case Study 17: Unforgettable Music Festival

The producers in this case study are young and educated and include DJs, marketers and IT experts. They have strong global links, and they understand integrated marketing and the necessity of building networks beyond their circle of friends. Some are international students and skilled migrants who arrived after 2003, while others came to Auckland with their parents between 15 and 20 years ago.

Like the commercial producers discussed in Chapter 4, the successful desi producers have managed to build relationships with resource-rich individuals and institutions, but in this case the networks and circle of friends developed on the campuses of Auckland University of Technology and the University of Auckland, who share a precinct in the central business district where many international students reside.

The Unforgettable Music Festival featured overseas musicians, and was linked and branded with an Australian tour. The main acts were transnational members of the Indian diaspora based in Europe and the Middle East. The headline act was Imran Khan, a DJ from Holland touring with DJ Shadow from Dubai. Both are part of a transnational community of Panjabi cultural heritage. Local musicians from the DJ mix/hip hop community were also given a chance to perform, including DJA, who runs local club events; MC AJ, is promoted as New Zealand's #1 MC; and Platinum Dholis from Australia.

Imran Khan is a Dutch-born Panjabi singer, from The Hague, who gained success after the release of his first single "Ni Nachleh" (Let's Dance) by Prestige Records in the UK in 2007. The song took the British-Asian dance scene by storm. This was followed by the release of his debut album *Unforgettable* on 27 July 2009. In a BBC interview Khan said that he always used to listen to Panjabi tracks, and that he saw a gap in the industry and felt he could make a difference with his unique brand of music. He wanted to target not only the British Asian scene but the rest of the world as well, as he believes that music is universal (Mahmood, 2009).

Producers in Australia and Auckland joined forces to make the event happen. The producers' enthusiasm for producing this event is evident in the way they formed alliances with other producers and performers who shared the same vision.

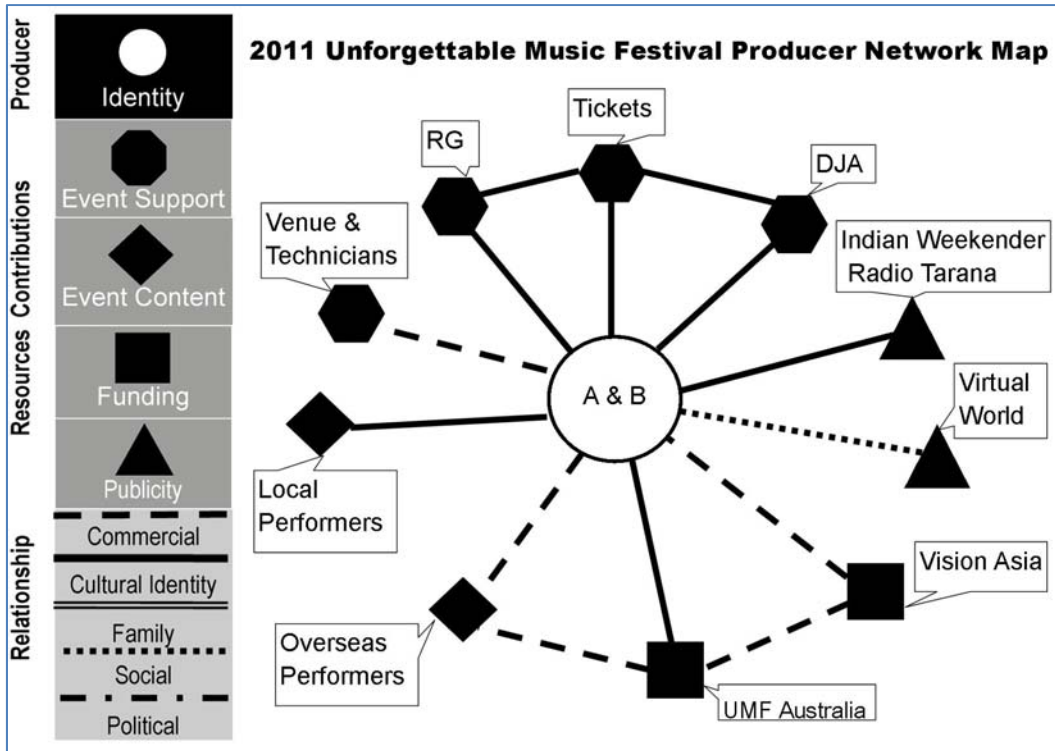


Figure 47. Desi Producer Collaboration: 2011 Unforgettable Music Festival

Figure 47 illustrates the production networks established to show that the relationships accessed in this model are dominated by cultural identity and commercial relationships. “A” and “B” are desi co-producers sharing their previously established event production experience and expertise. “A” is an experienced event producer who recently arrived in Auckland from an Indian community in Malaysia. This was his one and only event in Auckland and he has since returned to Malaysia. “B” is an Indian event production company that has been representing ‘Indian music and culture with our Kiwi twist’ since 2000.²⁸ The “B” producers met as university students studying in Auckland, and they also met DJ and RG on campus.

“B” is a team of two, one arriving from Delhi in 1991 and the other from Bihar in 1995, and both have parents who arrived to take up professional employment. They

²⁸ Kiwi is a colloquial term used to describe a New Zealand cultural identity. The use of the term Kiwi generally reinforces the project of nation building in which Paheha, New Zealanders of European heritage, aim to carve out a new and distinct national identity for themselves (Bruin, 2012, p. 223).

attended school in Mt Roskill before attending the University of Auckland. They both have solid roots and networks in Auckland. They grew up attending many Auckland Indian community cultural events as well as Indian classical and pop concerts. While at university they gained experience producing events through UniIndian, a university student union club created by students to give support to other Indian students. Now they are in full-time jobs, and have partners and children. .

“A” and “B” access RG and DJA through cultural identity relationships as fellow event organisers to access event support assisting with ticket distribution, logistics and event content. “B”, RG and DJA have former production relationships, as they all attended university in Auckland and have promoted events together in the past.

This event was a commercial venture, but that was not the main motivation for “B”:

This business is about promoting quality music and not money-making or self-promotion. Now we are in full-time jobs and have full lives. Different when students and had access [sic] to student unions and resources. In every sense of the word it was a successful show. The artist needs ‘X’ amount of money, which is really hard to capture back with the population and venue issues in Auckland. A database was captured, adding immense value to the outcome of the production. We used to have a website but now find it easier to just use Facebook. It is working, as we have 3,000 friends on our site so we can quickly reach our target audience. It is the types of events that excite us. Don’t mind putting time in for something new – a new type of DJ or act that we want to hear – but someone e.g. Imran Khan, we knew from day one that we would not make big money as he was so expensive. Thing is this guy is the new Indian music – just having our names Pure Desi Music associated with the brand of the musician, we felt that it would enhance our marketing reputation. Big risk and chance of big success as our motivation was to build audience. One key to success is to work smart: do good work that is mutually beneficial and build reputations (“B”, personal communication, 10 November 2011).

The ability to ‘work smart’ is evident in their ability to create alliances with others. They created a marketing strategy that was efficient and very effective. “A” and “B”, accessed funding through a commercial relationship with Vision Asia, who also sponsored the Australian producers who put on four events in major cities across Australia. Vision Asia is a commercial satellite television station that broadcasts Indian popular culture in MTV-style programmes and Bollywood films. Vision Asia is part of a strong growth trend in the area of digital media sparked by the Australia and New Zealand region moving from the analogue TV platform to digital starting in 2009 and completing in 2013.

The producers self-ticketed the show, ensuring control over distribution and avoiding ticket agent fees. They promoted it through their own networks in the real and

virtual worlds as well as through the more traditional media. Local publicity was accessed through Radio Tarana and the *Indian Weekender*, who both heavily promoted the show and received branding on the posters. A website was created for the event, but they discovered the time, effort and expense were not viable. For their target market, Facebook was cheaper, easier and a more effective way to promote the event and sell tickets directly over the phone.

They initially offered 700 tickets. In a viral marketing frenzy, those tickets sold out three weeks before the show, prompting the producers to double their expected ticket sales and eventually selling to maximum venue capacity. They offered an alcohol-free zone aimed an audience 15–17 years of age. This strategy captured a market that usually is not able to attend such events. The drinking age in New Zealand is 18, and the drinking laws are strictly enforced in clubs. By including this target market they were able to achieve a strategic marketing plan. They were able to capture the contact details as well as the Facebook profiles of an emerging audience that has the potential to grow their business in the future. Audience members were mainly under 25 in age and represented the diversity of Indian cultural communities, but also included an audience of East Asian and European cultural backgrounds.

To get top acts to New Zealand in any genre is not always easy. In this case, a producer in Australia had signed up Imran Khan for an Australia-New Zealand tour. The producer gave “B” a call and said he wanted \$15,000 (NZD) for the act. “B” did not think it would be economically feasible. Previously, a DJ musician from the UK would normally expect an audience of 750 maximum. So “B” rejected the idea and did not hear back. “B” was then approached by “A”, who was new in Auckland. He saw the event as an opportunity to promote his company and was willing to underwrite any potential loss. “A” had recently migrated from Malaysia from a family involved in the Malaysian event industry and had produced many shows in Malaysia. “A” was not concerned if the event ran at a loss as this was his first one in Auckland. “A” and “B” banded together as co-producers and then went to DJ and RG for help.

The market was unknown for this kind of act and the potential financial risk was \$10,000. “A” was willing to take the risk. DJA took on the role of concert manager and created a youth oriented marketing campaign

What we did was create a 20 second-promotional video getting out the clubbing clubbing clubbing message to get the idea that this was going to be, as the title, an “Unforgettable Music Festival” and major rave party. Desi Crew joined in. This was important as Imran Khan would only

perform for an hour. If it was just an hour Imran Khan Show they might have got 700 people with a lot of marketing. The ‘Unforgettable Music Festival’ concept worked for us as it attracted local artists and got Desi Crew involved. The promoters were concerned and did not think it should be sold as a clubbing experience as we were paying for Imran Khan. But we went with our idea. If just Imran Khan the Indian audience will expect the artist to be on stage when they walked in and will not want to wait. They want to see the artist for four to five hours and get their \$50 money’s worth. This worked really well. Tickets started to sell fast. Indians tend to buy at the last minute. This was the first show that 80 percent of the tickets were sold three weeks beforehand. Everything worked in our favour, as it was just after exams. We did have this against us – two major concerts happening just before and one week after. (DJA, personal communication, 15 November 2011)

According to the producers, the Unforgettable Music Festival was the most successful DJ concert in the history of New Zealand and Australia. Others who attended but were not part of the production confirmed that they thought it was an amazing event. Imran Khan came with the expectation that “this was going to be a nowhere place”. He left saying it was “the best place ever”. He expected 200 people as the population was so small. In fact 1,400 people attended (DJA, personal communication, 15, November 2011). There are many video clips on YouTube that show performances and the audience for this event.

29

As previously discussed, event production is a risky business and not all events are successful. The successful young producers feel that many of the new migrants are so desperate to make a profit, as well as promote themselves, that their events are bound to fail. They feel that when concerts are all about money it does not help the event business. The tickets become too expensive and no thought goes into the sound and lighting or the event experience. There is resentment as the emerging players, who work in the finance and/or insurance sectors, lack event or creative production experience. In the words of “B”, “We want our shows to be an amazing experience. They need to look good and sound good. We want the buzz. We need the people to be talking about it before they get there and walk out still talking about the experience” (“B”, personal communication, 10 November 2011). The Unforgettable Music Festival demonstrates the production process practiced by this team of desi producers, creating events featuring overseas and local performers.

²⁹ Imran Khan performing at The Unforgettable Music Festival can be viewed on many YouTube sites including: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0NL-PoYkduA>

This team is motivated by their desire to produce events that the friends they have grown up with – European as well as Asian – will enjoy and support. They share hip hop culture and enjoy concerts, clubs and raves. They relate to being part of a global desi community. The producers' families and their friends' families take a liberal approach to parties and relationships, in strong contrast to the more conservative members of the Indian community. These producers tapped into the growing club scene and the growing desi market. They are committed to events in the next year with dreams of bringing large international acts to Auckland in the future. DJA explains the successful marketing strategy:

We sold out in this way and had to have a reprinting of more tickets three weeks away. Everybody was talking about it as it has truly gone viral. Imran Khan came on at 10 but nobody complained waiting for the main act as the backup experience was so good. Great value for a \$50 ticket – Imran Khan was scheduled at 10 pm and the crowd was happy as they were enjoying the DJs. The average age was 20 or 21 and the show was filled with clubby type people. Not all household names, but the audience came for the rave party. Massive hit was DJ Shadow from Dubai [sic] who followed Imran Khan and came with the musical tour package. Main DJ for Imran Khan – good entertainer [sic] who performs more Bollywood than fusion. He comes from a place like Dubai that has many Indians and does not have to struggle to attract a non-Indian audience. (DJA, personal communications, 15 November 2011)

The success of the Unforgettable Music Festival, with Imran Khan headlining, helped grow the producers' reputations and creating further opportunities in the local event industry. This event drew a sell-out crowd, hitting venue capacity and attracting the growing youth market, which had not been tapped into outside of small DJ mix clubs and events organised on university campuses.



Figure 48. Unforgettable Music Festival Press Release 2011

Case Study 18: DJs and Bollywood Rock

The Unforgettable Music Festival case study demonstrated the desire of the desi audience to attend dance raves and the desi producers keen to create such events. This event reflects a growth in the Indian desi scene as well as the flow of transcultural and transnational migrants and their influence on creating a ‘global India’ performance culture. The Unforgettable Music Festival production practices were designed and intended to attract a far different crowd than the previous events discussed. The latter were straightforward concerts and festivals, whereas this event was marketed as a desi dance music festival with a new rave party concept featuring hip hop, DJs and dancing as reflected in the press release text shown in Figure 48 above.

This section explores through interviews with local producers the new musical genres that are emerging in the Auckland Indian event scene. Many of the new producers are creating these events as producer/performers of DJ mix and rock, or were involved in the production of the Unforgettable Music Festival.

The first section examines the role of the DJ as event producer, exploring who is producing what and where. The second section follows with an example of a rock performer/producer launching a new band. Both producer types promote their performances as desi, but in very different ways: the DJ seeks a young ‘rave’ audience while the other seeks a family audience. What they have in common is that they are

creating events intended to get the audience dancing and include reinterpreted Bollywood hits.

DJ Club Scene

Events in the Auckland DJ and club scene are marketed to appeal to specific niche markets. In this section, events and specific producers are described to show contrasting production practices. The producers in this sector are DJs, but as I discovered, from the desi perspective not all DJs are the same.

DJA moved to Auckland with his parents in 1993 from Hyderabad in his early teens. He works full time as an IT programming manager, and is a graduate of the University of Auckland. He is married, with a young family who are tolerant of long hours at the club and understand his commitment to the music side of his life. His parents have PhDs, but finding appropriate work in New Zealand was difficult, so they have had to return to India separately for periods of time and work in order to be able to raise enough credit to ensure their pensions from India. They are now happily retired and settled in Auckland.

DJA is a DJ in Indian clubs and refers to his music as electro house, considered one of the fastest growing electronic dance music genres. According to DJA, because electro house borrows aspects from many other genres, the desi DJs are able to mix Indian genres with standard/international ones, creating a club scene that appeals to a wide audience.

The problem with other Indian DJs [in Auckland] is they are really cut off from English music. If a kid was to go up and ask for an English song that is being listened to all over town the DJ would not know what it was. For me it is easy as I have played 100 percent English sets. Producing what we do, we remix and send them back – it makes it recognisable. We are taking Bollywood film tracks and remixing them out, taking top 40s and remix, and package and send them out. We have our own mixing studio and production house. Other people are using our work in this way. It has been a good effort. (DJA, personal communication, 15 November 2011)

DJD, one of the more active DJs, has his own nightclub, is older and was born in Fiji. He produces events for an older drinking crowd who do not identify with the desi club scene. DJD does not have the global outlook of DJA or identify with the desi community. He produces events on a regular basis in his nightclub for an older, middle-aged, Indo-Fijian demographic. The producer alliances in the previous case study do not support his events. They are critical of his lack of musical innovation and production practices. They consider being a DJ as being a performing artist and not just about playing music. Their

feeling is that, until they arrived, there were no trained or professional DJ performances or DJ mixes happening in New Zealand; everybody was playing off CDs, stopping and playing the next track.

DJD's club is in south Auckland, although he has produced at dance clubs in central Auckland, such as the popular nightclub Galatos. He recently produced a concert for the UK transcultural desi rap artist Hard Kaur at his club in south Auckland. Hard Kaur is a desi hip hop artist that one would expect would draw a crowd, as she has been billed globally as India's first female rapper. Born to a Panjabi Sikh family in India, she arrived in the UK as a child where, in Birmingham, she developed an interest in hip hop and started her music career as a rapper.³⁰ Although young, she has a media profile and has worked hard to make a place for herself in the traditionally male-dominated rap and hip hop scene as well as the competitive world of Bollywood actors and playback singers (FE Staff, 2010).

DJD failed to attract a crowd. The club can accommodate an audience up to 700 people and all events are R18 as it is a drinking establishment. The desi producers did not attend or promote the event. When asked what went wrong, DJA and RG offered their opinions, reporting that only 150 of the tickets were sold and 100 more were given away. According to DJA, the question of trying to make a nightclub very Indian is not a good thing, as going out to clubs is not what Indians do – it is not part of the traditional Indian family culture and regarded not being as a good thing. The desi kids who have grown up as Kiwis do go out with their friends to parties and nightclubs; however, for them, a whole night of Indian music does not excite them.

There is a strong Indo-Fijian presence in New Zealand that supports a bar and club scene, but it does not provide entertainment that the younger audience wants to be associated with. Such clubs offer performance content quite different to the desi clubs. The desi DJs add English tracks so that the desi kids can enjoy clubbing with their non-Indian friends. According to the desi DJs, the 20–25-year-olds find it boring. DJD and his crew were attracting those over 30 and not providing what the kids were wanting. The audience was described as being dominated by the Indo-Fijians who were creating parties for 'aunties', and Hard Kaur did not fit into this picture.

DJA saw a hole in the market and has contributed to the growth of the desi club scene. During the period of this study, desi nightclubs popped up around the city,' from

³⁰ Hard Kaur has developed a very professional public profile that is marketed on her website: <http://www.hardkaurworld.com/>.

Karangahape Road in the city centre to a suburban mall in Mount Albert and a newer one in the Viaduct Basin. DJA has been a driving factor in this growth, and recently moved his “Delhi Nights” rave parties from a suburban Mt Albert nightclub into the Viaduct basin. The Viaduct Basin is a prime location as it is in Auckland’s central business district, which grown over the past 10 years to become the centre of the local club culture. This is an area with a growing international student population and apartments, restaurants, bars and clubs catering to this specific market.

The club featuring DJA regularly, in Mt. Albert, is Indian-owned and –managed, and is located next to a Cineplex that has been in business for many years. This is a neighbourhood that is located in an area with a high density of Indian residents. The club allocates one night a week to ‘Delhi Nights’, every Friday from 9 pm to 2 am, and with a special monthly themed event. The rationale behind this concept is that there is a core of over 50 attendees who show up weekly for the Friday night, with an additional 200 who regularly attend the monthly special events. This has created a sustainable model for the club and the DJ. As the business is located in an indoor shopping mall and the only licensed premises in the venue, there is walk-in traffic from shoppers as well as movie goers. It is located in an area that provides parking, and is not visible from the street, and therefore away from prying eyes

DJA explains some of the reasons for his club’s success in attracting young Indian migrants and their friends.

Since 2003, there has been a huge influx of Indian students from India. They arrive from the [very restricted] Indian culture wanting to enjoy the freedom and want to party. They want to listen to the music from home in the club atmosphere. That is how we thought of Delhi Nights, as ‘Delhi’ really represents India. It clicked – we needed to form a place that catered for India Indian people and wanting a balanced mix between English and Hindi. The other clubs were playing 99 percent Hindi songs. The kids felt that they could not walk in with a Euro or Asian friend, so we created a mix where they could have a good time. People told me you are very silly to open a club in a place like a Mt. Albert Mall, a long way from the CBD and why would people go that far for a DJ night? Especially if the club closes at 2 am [the city centre clubs are open all night]. I said that’s true. It just worked as we already had a following and people wanted performances that were more professional and another level up when it came to that. What we had was a huge Indian teenage following and some English too. We have had people come as far as Pukekohe [this as in south Auckland, 40 minutes drive from the CBD] and the majority of international students that attend live in the city centre. (DJA, personal communication, 15 November 2011)

Over the course of the study, DJA moved his dance parties to a more prestigious club in the Viaduct Basin in the heart of Auckland's club scene. He rates his success to the fact that he offers an event experience that the audience can't get anywhere else. He has created a scene for the new 'global Indians', whether they are new arrivals or third-generation Indians who want fusion and not just India. DJA is in the club as the entertainer. He is not concerned with bar sales and does not consider that his responsibility as he sees his responsibility as the music. It is his music that matters to him, and the impact the music has on the lives of those who experience it

DJA grew up surrounded by music influenced by his grandfather, who was an experienced tabla player and played harmonium. As a child he was partial to Indian classical music – something his friends thought really boring. At the time Pakistani rock had huge influence on India's youth as this was the period of pre-liberalisation when India was still closed to outside influences. Through Pakistan's close relationship with the USA, DJA and his friends were able to get alternative music through the Pakistani media that bled across the borders into India via radio and visiting relatives from other parts of the diaspora. This media access opened a massive rock influence in India in the 1990s.

Although DJA grew up in Hyderabad in the south, his cultural heritage roots were in the Panjab. He identified with Sufi rock and specifically the band Junoon. Salman Ahmad, Junoon's founder and lead guitarist, is a hugely popular global rock musician who spent most of his teens in the USA, where he learned rock guitar before returning to Pakistan to study medicine. He started performing in 1990, and is outspoken on political rights and social justice. The band is considered as being one of the most successful in the history of South Asia and performs globally.

In this way, DJA arrived in Auckland with global music firmly implanted in his cultural identity, moulding his DJ style. DJA started making remixes when he was in high school. DJA and his friends had no place in Auckland to perform as DJs. They did not enjoy the local music scene in bars, and the established Indian DJ venues did not play music they liked or have the sophisticated DJ 'style' of contemporary global DJs they had previously experienced outside of New Zealand. DJA and the owner of the established DJ venue had conflicting notions of how music in clubs should be presented. For DJA the owner was looking at the club scene with 'old eyes'.

In 2009, DJA started performing in a fixed public venue. He approached different club owners along with his friends, asking if they could try a DJ night. They were lucky, as they found a supportive venue that included an Indian owner. DJA and his friends believe

promotion for their venture was a critical factor. They released music online, creating a two-hour demo so the potential audience knew what they were coming to. In this way, if they liked the music they could share it with friends or put it on their iPods and MP3 players. They included Indian and English fusion tracks. They started to get a following and ran small weekly events and special themed monthly events (e.g. Bollywood, end of university term) to attract larger audiences.

The first larger event they produced was a big club promotion for Indian Independence Day 2010. This was a very alternative concept to the annual Independence Day events produced by the Auckland Indian Association and other cultural organisation festivities. They created a production team from their friends from university, working with them creating posters, promoting on Facebook, going to cricket games and indoor sports centres, and inviting all they encountered to a free dance party. They had 350 people show up, which proved difficult as the venue could only cope with a crowd of 200. The huge queue outside had to be restricted and monitored by bouncers as the audience reached house capacity.

. DJA and 100% Desi Crew emerged from this first event experience with production experience and reputations as producers. 100% Desi Crew describes itself as “representing Indian music and culture with our Kiwi twist since 2000” (SG, personal communication, 10 November 2013). In the previous case study, the Unforgettable Music Festival, these young desi producers created production alliances and event experience, enabling them to produce larger and more challenging events. DJA and his friends went on to produce the commercially successfully Shankar-Ehsaan-Loy concert examined in Chapter 4.

Bollywood Rock: Nasha

Shankar-Ehsaan-Loy was an important event for DJA and his event producer- friends. It was equally important for a rock drummer living on the North Shore. Local Indian rock bands are a rare commodity in Auckland. This example considers the challenges facing a very experienced musician and producer launching Auckland’s first Indian rock band in 2011. The producer’s Indian rock identity had been subsumed by playing in western rock bands, producing rock-events and teaching percussion.

Mark Menezes is a rock drummer who started his musical career in the early 1980’s with the Mumbai-based rock band Crosswinds, which included Ehsaan Noorani, later of

Shankar-Ehsaan-Loy. He then joined the legendary Rock Machine, which subsequently rechristened itself Indus Creed, India's iconic rock band, who first came together in 1985.

Then called Rock Machine, the band were Mumbai-based and devoted to playing their original rock and roll compositions. India at the time had one government-run TV channel and radio station, neither of which thought rock and roll to be particularly "cultural". Rock Machine recorded three albums, won a bunch of awards and changed their name to Indus Creed. They toured extensively throughout India as well as the UK and the Middle East. They represented India at the Festival of India in the USSR and played at the WOMAD festival in the UK.

Indus Creed was founded by a former schoolmate of Menezes, both are graduates of Campion School in Mumbai (de Sousa, 2013). This school taught many of the children of the many Goan and Anglo-Indian performers living in a small south Mumbai neighbourhood enclave in Colaba. This neighbourhood is near the Taj Hotel, where many of this community were working in the local jazz clubs and hotels and in the Bollywood music industry (Fernandes, 2011).

Auckland is home to several families of migrants from Goan neighbourhood in Mumbai. Some are new migrants and others have been in Auckland for over 30 years. Menezes grew up in a Catholic Goan family in Mumbai and does not speak Hindi. He is a producer, performer and music teacher who lives on Auckland's North Shore. Menezes is the first to admit he is not a Bollywood fan. He attended the Shankar-Ehsaan-Loy concert and enjoyed catching up with his old friends and fellow musicians. He was surprised to see the great response the band received from the audience. People of all ages attended and were dancing and singing along to the lyrics. Menezes responded to his event experience by creating a new band, as reported in the *Indian Weekender*:

As I was listening, I realised that it's basically the same as Western pop music, only with an Indian beat and they're singing in Hindi. It was interesting and different. People were enjoying it, so I thought why don't we give it a try? (Ramsey, 2012)

Menezes called his friend Ben Fernandez, a keyboard player who is also a professional Goan musician from Mumbai with international performance experience and living on the North Shore. Menezes pitched the idea of forming a Bollywood covers band to Fernandez and Rahul, a local vocalist, and they loved the idea. This was the birth of Nasha. Nasha is still very new, although they have performed at community fundraisers, at

Diwali: Festival of Lights 2012, and in community halls. These events have created a new take on Bollywood dance parties.

The concept is to take Bollywood out of the DJ scene in order to create events that appeal to all ages. Menezes saw a gap in the market for live performances in this genre. The high ticket prices involved in bringing Bollywood bands to New Zealand to perform means that a lot of migrant families cannot afford to attend the concerts. Menezes sees Nasha as a performance group that fills a gap for both the Indian migrant community within New Zealand, as well as for those of Indian parentage/origin who have lived in New Zealand their whole lives.

He feels that bands like Nasha reinforce positive spirit within the community. “It gives people a chance to get together and have fun,” he says. “With the number of migrant Indians living outside the country there will always be a demand for this kind of entertainment.” He also says he is confident non-Indians will embrace the Bollywood style of Nasha (Ramsey, 2012).



Figure 49. Inaugural Nasha Concert at Murray’s Bay Intermediate School (Photograph Alison Booth)

In an interview in the *Indian Weekender*, Menezes explained how meeting up with Shankar, Ehsaan and Loy in New Zealand affected the direction of his musical career:

Ehsaan and I go back some 30 years in friendship as well as Loy and the Mendonsa family...it's a brotherhood, so when they visited Auckland, Ehsaan came over for lunch and was surprised I wasn't coming to see their show. Living overseas for 25 years...I had not really heard any of their music...so he insisted and I went. It was a turning point...as I could not believe how much Bollywood had changed in that time...it was really westernised pop with a lot of dhol loops...very rhythmic and very catchy tunes. They had the crowd mesmerised and dancing for three and a half hours. This was the trigger that got me to think...we can do this here in Auckland with an abundance of local talent...and I immediately approached Ben as we knew each other from back in the day in Mumbai... A week later I informed Ehsaan about the project and he was thrilled...gave me his support for anything Nasha would need and his blessings...what more could I ask for from an old friend? (Kumar, 2012)

Since its inaugural concert at Murray's Bay Intermediate School in August 2012, Nasha has gone through personnel changes. New dancers had to be sought, as the westerners wanting to perform with the group were not dedicated to attending rehearsals, nor did they have the requisite training or experience to master the eclectic Bollywood dance repertoire. They are on their third female vocalist as the first did not have the time and the second took their songs and performed them with a new emerging Bollywood band. This singer was well trained and suited the male vocalist. The Nasha brand was compromised as the other band copied all of their songs and arrangements and performed them in an event on Valentine's Day, promoted in the Indian press, including Bollywood songs alongside the Beatles and the Bee Gees (I N Staff, 2013). The Bollywood songs performed were the same songs as I had seen Nasha perform at Murray's Bay. The members of Nasha, needless to say, were upset. This caused a great deal of disappointment for Menezes and his fellow band members. Their professional experience has pulled the band through the upsets. They now have a new singer and a larger repertoire, and are preparing for their first large commercial event.

New Performance Perspectives and Producer Reflections

This section reflects on a variety of ways in which desi producer voices are transforming the content, practice, and place of Indian cultural production in Auckland through their eyes. These producers are competing with the other producers for a space in the competitive event market. Their experiences with world perspectives outside of conventional India give them a unique place within the Indian commercial producer community.

DJA, introduced in Case Study 17, found that getting a live music culture happening specifically for the Indian youth that have grown up in New Zealand very difficult, suggesting that they are not ‘really Indians’ and have a different cultural reference. The kids that get out at night and enjoy the DJ club culture are ones with parents who are pretty relaxed, as the very strict parents do not let their kids out. There is a ‘good kid versus bad kid’ dichotomy, as going out to a club is not considered a good thing. The Unforgettable Music Festival was marketing to the children of the more relaxed parents whereas Nasha is marketing to the other audience as an event for the whole family attracting a wider generational audience.

The DJ mix audience is growing, as demonstrated by its popularity at the new venue in the Viaduct Basin. The Unforgettable Music Festival so far has not been repeated, but the producers are working on bringing a huge Bollywood show to the Vector Arena later in 2013. The Unforgettable Music Festival sold out and the producers did not lose money, but they also did not make a huge profit as bringing performers of that calibre to New Zealand is an expensive business. It is really hard to make a profit as the market is too small when it comes to paying the fees it takes to attract big artists.

The Unforgettable Music Festival was potentially competing with two large commercial events identified in Chapter 5. Three commercial Indian events were produced within a three-week period: Adnan Sami was on 17 June, The Unforgettable Music Festival, 1 July and then KK Live in Auckland on 9 July. Both Adnan Sami and KK are well-known pop artists brought to Auckland by commercial producers, both of whom were relatively new to the Auckland market.

Adnan Sami was born, reared and educated in Britain. He first studied at the Rugby School and went on to graduate from the University of London. When Adnan was 10, his talent was spotted by Asha Bhosle at a RD Burman concert in London. Bhosle encouraged him to take up music as a career. He then learned Indian classical music from the santoor maestro Pandit Shivkumar Sharma. Adnan then became the first person to play Indian classical music on the piano and electric piano (Khan, 2011). His father is Pakistani and his mother is Indian, and he is of Muslim religious heritage. He sings in Hindi and Urdu and plays keyboard in his band and enjoys a major global profile.

Krishna Kumar (also known as KK or Kay Kay) is an Indian playback singer, prominent in Hindi, Tamil, and Telugu films. Born in Thrissur, Kerala, and brought up in New Delhi, he got his break into the entertainment industry by singing in a jingle for a commercial and performing in the song that supported the Indian Cricket Team during

Cricket World Cup 1999. He went to Catholic schools and attended Delhi University (Khan, 2011).

The producers for both the Adnan Sami and KK shows were new in the Auckland producer scene. They are older than DJA and spent their youths outside of New Zealand. They applied conventional commercial production practices to their events. The comparison of these two events and the success factors were described by DJA.

Both shows were booked to perform at the TelstraClear Pacific Events Centre and were trying to attract far bigger crowds to cover their far bigger overheads. The competing events did not sell out, but attracted good size audiences estimated at a 70–80 percent capacity. The promoter for KK had a very hard time selling tickets. By the middle of June, the ticket sales were very low and they had to rethink their marketing strategy. The producer saw what we were doing and copied our marketing model. On home cable channels – after every break were ads about how KK was coming, as well as the Indian news and Facebook. Hard sell got them barely through breaking even and getting a full house. KK is a very good singer but the face value is missing for this guy. He is interview-shy, so nobody knows who he is. He has no public profile and that is what you need, like Michael Jackson. Adnan Sami did okay but did not get a full house. (DJA, personal communication, 15 November 2011)

The Auckland producer for Adnan Sami is part of an Australian production company that produces big-name acts on an annual basis in Sydney. The Auckland producers contract as local event coordinators for this larger event production company.

The producers of KK, a husband-and-wife team, are recent arrivals from India and nearing retirement age. They tried their hand at producing four commercial events over the period of this study. They struggled to attract audiences or build alliances. A week before the KK show only 10 percent of the tickets had sold. With the help of RG and his friends who assisted with their viral marketing skills a week before the event, the producer was able to make a profit. The following year they tried KK again and did not do as well as the repeat show was too close to the previous show; in addition, RG and his friends did not come to their aid the second time around as they did not receive proper thanks and recognition. The producer of KK is no longer in the Auckland event business.

As previously discussed, many of the desi producers are performers themselves. Some have musical training and experience across many genres, including Indian and western classical, rock and roll, hip hop, jazz, rap and DJ mix. Some of these producers expressed their frustration as to the production practices of other local DJs who are bar owners. These producers are viewed as just trying to make money, and with that single goal in mind they are putting themselves in a precarious position as the desi producers

express the belief that if you try to grab money it disappears and if you concentrate on quality monetary success will follow: “This is where they fail. They just play one CD – boom, don’t care, just drunk – charging an arm and a leg at the door but music was just not up to standard” (DJ, personal communication, 9 November 2011).

This event producer perspective has contributed to a more competitive marketplace for commercially produced events. The producers of KK and others seek out their advice. When they do not feel thanked or recognised for their help, they are apt to cut off the relationships. This process has contributed to the strengthening of local production alliances of like-minded producers who see India through ‘global’ eyes, sharing skills in reciprocal relationships. The producer of Nasha gives and receives advice from DJA, RG, and DJ. In this way, the producers in this chapter are networked locally as well as globally.

When I asked one of the producers what his dream for the future of desi performance events in Auckland, I was told:

My vision to set out a Big Day Out for Indians – a free desi rock concert in central Auckland with the Big Day Out kind of formula. We want to have people experience the wide scope of Indian music. In the US and UK Indian music can be eclectic and cool. Indians here run towards English music because it is cool. They think going to a Bollywood club is not cool. They are too cool for that. So we want to show the kids here that, like the UK and USA, it is cool to enjoy the Indianness in music. To have them enjoy and experience the scope of the various genres – to expose them to more ways of looking at music. This does not have to be the whole accolade thing. We do want different celebrities coming in free of charge with government support. It will be majorly difficult. (DJA, personal communication, 15 November 2011)

For producers to realise such dreams is a hard journey. They recognise they are in strong competition for government funding such as the large amounts of money sourced by ATEED for Diwali: Festival of Lights through other government agencies and sponsors. The desi producers identify what they feel is missing in the New Zealand and Australia concert market – an annual desi rock concert that might be free or might not if charging reasonable ticket prices are charged in a Big Day Out format³¹.

This suggestion could not be made without reference to feelings about the role Diwali: Festival of Lights plays in Auckland City. They are more than aware of how much money government agencies access to create events representing a vision of India, they do not adhere to.

³¹ For more information on this format see <http://www.bigdayout.com/>.

The Diwali thing at Aotea Square – I have a problem with it. Diwali does not represent Indian culture. It is a Hindu Festival. India consists of a lot of religions. Hindu is majority religion but, just one. What we see on stage has nothing to do with Indian culture. I have mummies, kiddies, aunties come in and does Bollywood dance – explain to me how this represents Diwali? How does Bollywood represent Indian culture or Hinduism? It does not. It is an absolute joke. You build a big stage and take masses of sponsorship money from the likes of Telecom and Auckland City Council – they have sponsors running through them. But what do you have – amateur families presenting dance shows. I object as an Indian. This is a joke – it is not a festival. They get so much sponsorship. Why don't we get the opportunity to see real Indian rock stars and top classical musicians with all that money on the big stage? It is about filling pockets. Can't go on like this for ever – the Indian population supports it as all the families go along and there is Indian food, but the support is declining. This year was not good. (DJA, personal communication, 11 November 2011)

The desi producers are not afraid to express their feelings and challenge the older, established producers. Some of these producers have made a significant contribution to the sustainability of commercial Indian events in Auckland. The producer's cultural understandings affect the types of events produced and the ways in which the events are promoted and marketed as 'global India'. The more successful producers are attracting audiences across Auckland's diverse communities, as in the desi DJ club scene and the Nasha concert. These producers are educated and sophisticated, combining skills with other like-minded friends to produce music that has personal meaning.

Conclusion

This chapter discussed, through case studies and interviews, how new producer voices are transforming the content, practice, and place of Indian cultural production in Auckland. Bollywood content appears in DJ mix, rap and hip hop through the real and virtual transcultural world of the global desi community. In urban centres that have a high concentration of youth associated with desi identity, rave dance scenes can be found in clubs. The hip hop scene is also dominated by youth associated with desi identity.

The dominant producers in these case studies used their university experience producing events from within the student union structure, which offered an invaluable training and understanding of the Auckland event market. The friendships forged and the production experience gained has given a group of desi producers a strategic advantage in the current production environment. They benefited from the leadership of David Victor, a desi employed by Auckland University of Technology as event coordinator. Victor's

vision, skills, and passion for music proved inspirational. With his support, the desi students and their friends had opportunities to promote top artists, including DJ mix artist DJ Sukutu from Mumbai, pulling large student crowds from the University of Auckland and Auckland University of Technology. Victor has since left for a job in Australia, leaving a legacy in his wake. Together the desi students developed a desi band culture that has received huge support. They produced a one-day music festival that attracted an estimated 15,000 people onto the Auckland University of Technology campus. Producing successful events opened up possibilities never before imagined.

The producers and musicians featured in this chapter demonstrate the shifting patterns of cultural flows (Hannerz, 1997) and a 'global' popular youth culture version of Indian identity. This is a growing voice that is actively seeking a place in the Indian cultural production market. The case studies showed how the Indian film songs and dance repertoire incorporate influences from various global music genres, creating a hybridity that has become a central part of being Indian (Gopal & Moorti, 2008, pp. 6-7).

The growth in the Indian population over the past decade can be seen reflected in the variety and quantity of the new types of events emerging in the Auckland market. New voices can be heard supporting events that reflect new music and production practices. The 'global Indian' producers are from all over India and the diaspora. They represent different cultures and language groups. The high importance of rock, hip hop and Bollywood for these producers can be seen by their enthusiasm for what they are doing. They unite through music events.

By reflecting on the 'global' and at the same time the 'village', a series of cross-cultural and trans-cultural interchanges and exchanges occurred under the 'desi' banner. These examples resonate with the reflections made by Dawe (2010) in his comprehensive 'guitarscape' research, which demonstrates the role of guitar (across cultures and decades) as an example of the wide and varied engagement of musicians (and associated production teams) who play across cultures and transcend national boundaries.

The production alliances that have grown out of the Unforgettable Music Festival have created a strong platform for the development of new sustainable event production models. Shankar-Ehsaan-Loy inspired all of the new producers included in this chapter, including DJs, event coordinators and rock musicians. This event opened up further worlds of possibilities that are limited only by the imagination and access to resources.

The 'global' eyes, inside and outside of India and Auckland, add a new voice and flavours of India to the cultural melting pot of Auckland's musical scene. Global India can

be said is alive and well in Auckland. The popular content is woven into memories for the producers, performers and audience. The content is transcultural, the audience is transnational, and the events are building culturally sustainable communities for the growing youth voices, bringing alternative popular culture to the Auckland community.

Chapter Six: Discussion and Analysis

Introduction

This chapter serves to pull together, analyse and discuss the overarching themes that have emerged from the wide variety of production practices and events described in the previous case studies. Based on an inductive analysis of the findings in the case studies, four overarching themes have been identified as emerging from this research: identity, community, feasibility and power. Each of these themes is analysed in depth below following a discussion of the process of how the data was analysed in order to identify these themes. This is followed by a quantitative analysis of the twenty-three producer maps found in the case studies in Chapters 2-5 to serve as the basis of production practice analysis and demonstrate how the producer maps as a tool for discussion of the findings.

The four overarching themes are discussed and analysed by applying scenarios from events described in the previous chapters and snapshot findings. This discussion explores in depth the variety of producer identities and the roles producers play in representing the diversity and vibrancy of Auckland's Indian communities. The way in which Indian culture is represented is dependent upon several factors, including the producer's cultural affiliations, social and political networks, and reputation. This is followed by a brief quantitative analysis of 23 of the producer network maps discussed in Chapters 2-5. The findings in this chapter demonstrate that success is more complex than pure profit; as Gerstin (1998) has argued, reputation, the value of networks and the ability to assert authority are imperative to success across the performance industry.

Data Analysis

To gain a deeper understanding of the overarching themes that have emerged through the course of this thesis, the case study data discussed in the Chapters 2- 5 has been examined through a systematic coding process. Data analysis was undertaken through a process of induction rather than through the use of computer software. The goal of this analysis was the creation of the processual categories evident in the research data that would suggest a small set of overarching themes as set out above. Because text analysis software programmes inevitably rely on researcher inputs for the creation of analytical categories (Basit, 2003), computer-based analysis was considered unnecessary in this case.

By coding the data by hand, the process allowed the formation of visual patterning in which signposting appeared, revealing where the emerging information was pointing. Some words were repetitive. These words became the basis of discussion and analysis in this research and included transnational, culture, identity, genre, power, and success, among others. Alongside the words, larger concepts were recorded, resulting in patterns. Producer relationships, competition and production practice were identified as key factors in the direction the study had taken. Colours helped identify different key concepts as potentially important in identifying and linking to the key emerging themes.

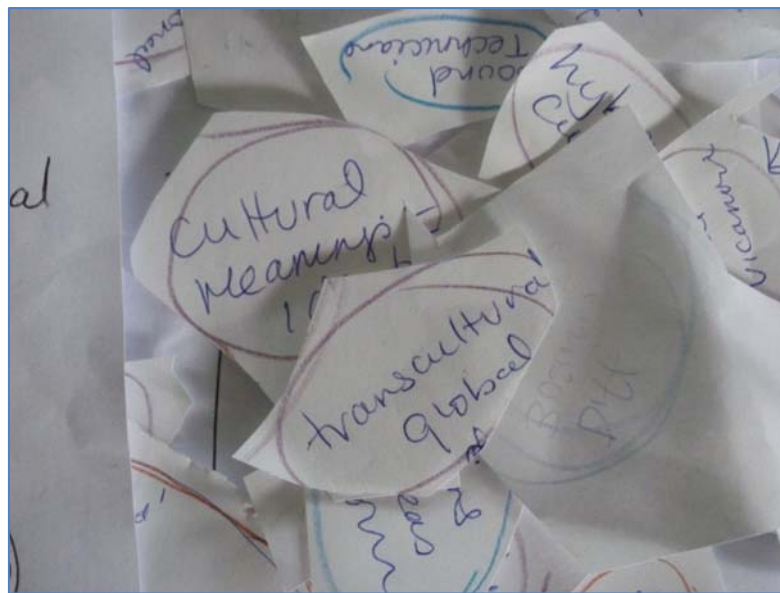


Figure 50. Over 150 Word Chips

By collating frequently used key words and terms, as illustrated in Figure 50, correlations were made between the words and terms; these created a framework within which to organise key concepts. As coding is a crucial step in the organisation and analysis of textual data, the process was thought through carefully. The data distillation process created the eventual outcome of this analysis, devising categories in which to organise the data. The codes served to link issues of importance in the case studies, with concepts and ideas enabling overarching themes to emerge through which to form a larger understanding of the data (Basit, 2003).



Figure 51. The Coding Process

In the manual process used, key words were identified from more than 150 “paper chips”, illustrated in Figure 51, created from terms that emerged in Chapters 2-5. After highlighting key words and then colour-coding them, they were clustered in order to discover the commonalities and patterns that emerged from across the four chapters. Gradually, key terms emerged that link together the events described in different chapters. Not unexpectedly, some connections were more readily apparent than others. This process has provided the framework for the final analysis and discussion included in this chapter that leads to the final conclusions. In this way, the approach to this research is inductive, as the analysis and discussion in this research is based on how the data functions and nests in context, allowing for the data to emerge through a grounded theory method (Glaser & Strauss, 1967).

Key Overarching Themes

Through the analytical process described above, four overarching themes emerged: identity, community, feasibility and power. Each of these themes is discussed individually

below. Despite this rigid analytical structure, it will be clear that significant interactions among these themes are inevitable. Clearly ‘identity and community’ and ‘feasibility and power’ form connected pairs. In order to manage interactions among the themes, three unifying factors have been added to the analytical framework. For identity and community these factors are: cultural transmission, nationalism versus regionalism (religious, language, cultural, regional and political affiliation), and performance genres. For feasibility and power, the unifying factors are: decision-making, inter-personal competition, community and cultural politics, and credibility and the ability to access to resources. For the purpose of this study, identity is approached from the perspective of the producer, and community is approached from the perspective of the audience and participants.

Table 5. Emerging Theme Analysis

1. IDENTITY Where do I fit in?	2. COMMUNITY How do I fit in?	3. FEASIBILITY Can I meet my goals?	4. POWER How do I achieve my goals?
1. Cultural transmission		1. Decision-making	
2. Nationalism, regionalism and diaspora: religious, language, cultural, regional and political affiliation, globalisation		2. Inter-personal competition, community and cultural politics	
3. Performance genres		3. Credibility and access to resources	
Cultural identity	Community belonging	Economic realities	Government
Producer identity	Community cultural practices	Event requirements	Community
Performance identity	Community production practices	Venues and ticket distribution	Commercial

Table 5 serves to sets out the analytical hierarchy that will structure the remainder of this chapter. The upper level identifies the four overarching themes, together with questions that frame the issues that recast the frames in human terms. The bottom section of Table 5 identifies factors that are central to the analysis and discussion of each theme. The central section of Table 5 sets out the unifying factors that cut across the two themes of each pair.

Emerging Theme: Identity

The first theme discussed is ‘Identity’, because identity acts as a fundamental building block for the subsequent themes. Identity is an individual statement of what it means to be a person. Identity creates a way to make sense out of the world. The individual identity of a producer is reflected in the way an event is designed and what performers are presented to the community. Rice argues that music as metaphor plays a pivotal role in our understanding of the meaning of identity (Rice, 2001). The case studies in this research revealed how musical performances create vastly different social, historical and geographical contexts depending on the multiple concerns and histories of the producers. This research revealed many complex ways producers created events that represented various notions of Indian cultural identities.

What makes music so special when discussing the theme of identity is that music defines a space without boundaries – a cultural form best able both to cross borders as sounds carry across fences and walls and oceans, across classes, races and nations – as well as to define places – in clubs, scenes, and raves, listening on headphones, radio and in the concert hall – reinforcing that we are only where the music takes us (Frith, 1996). Music creates a space in which to feel at home.

‘Where do I fit in?’ asks the underlying question of identity in this study. The answer to this question is dependent on whether the producer was born in Auckland, a new migrant, of Indian ethnicity or an ‘other’, and the identity the producer holds in the community. The choice of performers, venues, and marketing are culturally specific and determined by the producer. By approaching identity from the role of the, identity appears in multiple perspectives, as outlined in Table 5: cultural identity (Hindu, Bengali, Tamil, etc.); producer identity (entrepreneur, teacher, government agency, etc.); identity through musical genre (classical, bhangra, Bollywood, etc.); and professional identity (marketing, musicianship, networks, experience, etc.).

It should already be clear that these distinctions are by no means discrete. The ‘globalised’ nature of the Indian diaspora as well as Indian performance events means that Indian identity and the way that events might represent identity are contingent on multiple factors. The transcultural and global migration experience of many of Auckland’s Indian communities affects how they create and support events that represent cultural identities that span multiple locations and identities (Pieterse, 1994). This factor, compounded by government agency producers representing the European cultural majority, creates

complex notions of producer identity and the cultural representation of the Indian community.

Cultural Identity

The global Indian diaspora shares a common 'Indianness' that binds it together, despite the reality that there is no single notion of 'Indianness'. As noted by Turino (1999), basic to nationalist movements, in this case the idea of 'Indianness', is a general process of modernist reform that blends the best of local culture and modern foreign culture to forge images of new modern but culturally distinct communities. The case studies in this research demonstrate this contradictory notion, reflecting the complex nature of post-colonial India.

Most of the events described in this research do not present one united image of India, but rather multiple versions of Indian culture, as culture is forever transforming and morphing into fluidities of identity. This same multiplicity of identities applies to producers. What is more, in all cases the producer's cultural affiliations will create different ideas as to the way events are constructed, their intended outcomes, and the 'India' that is represented.

Producers representing community organisations, such as the New Zealand Carnatic Music Society, present 'Indianness' as an identity embodied in traditional Hindu values, South Indian classical musical genres, and regional/linguistic specificity. Such a representation contrasts strongly with the 'Indianness' constructed by Indo-Fijians, whose linguistic, cultural and religious practices often bear little resemblance to those of the typical Carnatic Society member and who most consistently support Bollywood rather than classical music events. Both of these versions of 'Indianness' stand in strong contrast with the desi scene that identifies with nightclubs that play DJ mix and rap music and mixing with 'others'. These multiple identity constructs of 'Indianness' share commonalities with others found in localities that host large Indian populations. Adding further to the complexity of producer identity are the government agency producers who are not Indian and who often possess a limited understanding of the breadth of Indian culture. The non-Indian producers, as 'outsiders' to the community, bring their own identity to the production practice as well as their own cultural perceptions of the 'other' identity they are representing.

The diversity of Auckland's growing Indian population has resulted in a growing range of public expressions of what it means to be Indian. This has been an issue of discussion over the course of this study. For new migrants, finding a place in their new home can be a tricky balance between order, adaptability and assimilation. There is a constant identity struggle as to what is 'Indianness', and finding those who share similar values to assist in the settling into the new environment can be paramount in adapting to the new environment. Some new migrants have chosen to produce events in order to establish their identity as a producer in Auckland, to greater and lesser degrees of success.

Producer Identity

When considering individual producer identities it needs to be recognised that labels can be problematic, but are however necessary as labels are used to express identity. For example, the label 'Panjabi tabla teacher' can be problematic. In this case, both cultural school producers claim membership in the Panjabi musical gharana³², creating a cultural identity relationship. In fact, they both have different regional, language, cultural and religious affiliations, and are very different tabla teachers with very different educational histories. The tabla teachers were involved in producing an event with an Australian living in New Zealand who was promoting an overseas musician that he had ties to through traditional Indian music student-teacher relationships.

The four musicians involved in this example were culturally affiliated with four different linguistic groups (English, Bengali, Panjabi, and Hindi), three different religions (Hindu, Christian, Sikh) and four different regional identities (Hindustan, Panjab, Australia, and Bengali). Yet all four musicians perform Hindustani music, illustrating how the notion of identity in postmodern global culture is not easily defined or compartmentalised and that culture has become a moving target (AlSayyad, 2001).

At vocalist Asha Bhosle's 2012 performance in Auckland, when the venerable singer asked the audience where they were from, she referred to specific linguistic identities and regional affiliations (such as those above). Many in the audience responded with similar specificity; but others claimed a nationalist identity (Indian) with some, no doubt asserting their New Zealand Kiwi identity as well. Bhosle thrilled her audience by performing songs in specific languages with regional dance movements, honouring the diversity within the Indian community attending the event. The audience representing

³² A gharana in Indian musical traditions refers to a family of musicians, a school of music, or a musical lineage with named after a particular musician or place.

different regional identities stood up and joined her performances through dance. This performance placed the songs beyond what was presented on stage, conjuring up memories of the films, the past, and home. The performance was enhanced further by a crowd that went electric as Asha Bhosle crossed linguistic boundaries, unifying the audience.

The majority of Bhosle's performance presented songs spanning decades of Bollywood cinema. The audience will have listened to the music on cassettes and/or CDs and, more recently, iPods. Her songs appeared in movies that will have been viewed online, in cinemas in Auckland and in other transglobal locations, in living rooms and in dens by multiple generations of Indians. Past performances will have been experienced in person, on DVDs and online. Although this was her first appearance in New Zealand, some in the audience would have seen and heard her performances elsewhere. The producer's identity as an aspiring Bollywood singer and a capable local event organiser with established local and global networks, assisted in the success of this event. The producer's cultural identity as a Marathi (as is Bhosle) was instrumental in his ability to successfully construct the event in the first place. This also gave him the opportunity to perform with Bhosle's band, elevating his status as a performer.

As with many of the events studied here, commercial Bollywood events require that producers depend on a complex construct of multiple cultural identities that rely on local levels as well as reinforcing the ongoing linkages of transnationalism that cross geographical borders in the real as well as virtual worlds (Rockefeller, 2011). The example also demonstrates how Bollywood plays a powerful and significant cultural role for India's diasporic communities by creating a sense of diasporic consciousness that acts as a global unifier of 'Indianness' (Takhar et al., 2012).

These examples illustrate the cultural differences and intricacies experienced by various producers, communities and performers. Identity plays an important role in who gets presented by whom and to whom in the Indian performance scene in Auckland. The concerts and festivals produced create a wide variety of 'Indianness', confirming that cultural identity is hard to describe and define in simplistic ways. As identity is an individual or collective statement of what it means to be a person, Indian performance scene creates a way to make sense out of the world the multiplicity of Indian identities in Auckland.

Performance Identity

Music is a fundamental sign of identity (Turino & Lea, 2004). As a performance event, music is also a way in which people can share event experiences, emotions, intentions, memories and meanings, even though their spoken language may be mutually incomprehensible (MacDonald, Hargreaves, & Miell, 2002). Most of the audience watching the “Shiva dance” described in Chapter 2 would not have understood the meaning of all of the words in the Sanskrit shloka, but most would have understood that the placement of the chosen words and visual references situated the song and dance sequence into a classical context. Many in the audience at Diwali: Festival of Lights watching the bhangra performances would not understand the meaning of the words, and some at least would not respond to bhangra as a sign of their own identity. The producers of the event would not understand the words, much less the deeper cultural emotions, memories and meanings for those performing as well as for the Indian audience. In this way, “music constructs our sense of identity through the direct experiences it offers of the body, time and sociability, experiences which enable us to place ourselves in imaginative cultural narratives” (Frith, 1996, p. 124).

Producers create event experiences for the performers as well as for spectators, creating sites for rituals and the playing out of relationships. The producer/performers in Chapter 4 created performance space in which they could be ‘stars’ by performing to ‘like-minded people’. The three performer/producers presented the same repertoire in the same venue but created three very different event experiences. For the audience and those performing at the events, participation was driven by their personal relationships with the musical content. The events themselves offered sites for experiencing the familiar in a diasporic world that does not always feel as comfortable as life previously in India or in a previous locality before moving to Auckland.

It is widely acknowledged that issues relating to belonging and identity are consistently experienced by diasporic communities (Takhar et al., 2012). Identity can be a series of complex affinities; including locality, culture, family and various types of communities this includes performers and other producers. Some newly arrived producers have established relationships with or experience as, musicians and dancers. These relationships can be advantageous, as in the case of BV assimilating into the Tamil dance scene or the Sikh tabla player with an academic background enjoying the backing of his local religious/regional community.

Some genres have close cultural connections to specific religious, linguistic and regional communities. Other genres are broadly consumed, do not connect to specific cultural identities and attract a broad audience base, such as Bollywood. By and large, genre selection is not the result of individual producer identity. The nature of production practice relies on stakeholders who share an attraction for specific performance genres, specific languages and, in some cases, specific performers. Therefore, successful producers are more likely to consider community preferences in their event concept than their own individual preferences.

For example, AC, a Bengali producer, who created a classical music performance based on a musician with whom he had a family relationship with in India. The performer failed to attract an audience as AC did not have community support beyond his small group of friends. The classical genre performed by an unrecognised performer left the Auckland Town Hall almost empty. Another example is AS also a Bengali, who features himself as the main singer at nostalgic Bollywood concerts that succeed for their large genre appeal. In this case, AS sees himself as a Bollywood singer and bases his event decisions on how he perceives his musical identity. Because his chosen genre has wide audience appeal and AS has built a reputation within the community, he is able to deliver a number of very successful events. At one point during this study, AS moved out of his normal repertoire and tried his hand at producing an event featuring his own compositions. The show failed to attract an audience and was pulled before going live.

Sometimes an individual's identity can add value to an event through their family connections. This was the case when a performance by the very famous Tamil/South Indian classical clarinettist AKC Natarajan was successfully negotiated by his daughter, who lives in Auckland. Natarajan's fame as a performer and his cultural association with the community producing the event created a wide audience appeal. These few examples reinforce my suggestion that a successful producer will consider genres that reinforce community's performance choice preferences rather than the individual preferences of the producer. The ones that succeeded did so because the genre choice reinforced community as well as the individual identity of the producer.

Concluding Remarks: Identity

The identification of a producer with Indian nationalism, regionalism, global ties, and religious, linguistic, political and cultural affiliations, affect the way producers approach designing their events. The role of the producer is inherently public; thereby, the event

production process may create spaces in which the producer is able to create a public profile as an event producer and/or performer.

The diasporic experience creates a reciprocal sense of displacement; identity is linked not just with the new locality, but also associated with an earlier 'elsewhere' in an active and critical relationship with cultural politics (Radhakrishnan, 1996). Some producers have used this to their advantage, such as in those with previous experience in the music scene in India. For example, the producer/performer of Nasha examined in Chapter 5 arrived as a professional musician and has been able to transfer his previous career skills as a performer and band producer into the local Auckland scene. He has continued performing rock and roll with western musicians as his skills are globally transferable. He does not speak Hindi, but has formed the first Bollywood band featuring live musicians in New Zealand. In this way, he has assimilated into Auckland by using music as a means to formulate and express his individual identity. These examples reflect AlSayyad's (2001) perception that there may be no fixed notions of identity, as identity will always take people to the 'other' only to bring them back to themselves.

The producers represented in this research reflect not only the diversity of Indian identity but, more importantly, the way identity affects the nature and processes of event production in a rapidly growing, vibrant community. Producers take advantage of the ways that the event experience can create spaces in which individuals can experience a sense of belonging. This is especially true for new migrants who attend events to feel a sense of 'home' and 'belonging' with like-minded people. Like-minded people are those with whom a commonality is felt, whether linguistic, generational, gender, religious, or political. Performance events create unique spaces for individuals to feel at home, as the nature and significance of music (its meaning in the broad sense and in this particular case) is the ability of music to make links to other aspects of human experience (Rice, 2001). This creates a vital link between identity and community.

Emerging Theme: Community

Communities are groupings of individuals who bond through commonalities based on cultural identities, whether regional, cultural, and linguistic, gender specific, and/or a host of other affinities. Individuals make up communities; it is the individual's sense of identity that creates significances in the musical genres and types of events they support. Music and dance play a critical role in the realm of human experience and the collective role events

play create community identity (Turino, 1999). As explained, in this study, cultural identity is constructed by a wide range of notions of what it means to be 'Indian'. Events play a role in solidifying the sense of belonging within specific community affiliations (Raghuram et al., 2008). It is this sense of belonging that is at the heart of what it means to be part of a community.

Religious, linguistic, cultural and political affiliations play a role in expressing regional and national identities and how individuals, as well as communities, participate in the production process. The size and scope of the events in this analysis are dependent on the identity of who is producing the event and the position the producer plays within larger networks. This ability to engage networks – to attract audience, funding, co-workers and promotion – is key to event success, and ultimately is determined by the producer's ability to connect with the local community. Some communities are large, such as the notion of an Indian nation that binds the international reach of the Indian diaspora, creating the sense of one cultural community of South Asia, in non-South Asian countries (Shukla, 2001).

Community events provide a space in which individuals with commonalities bind together in order to experience a sense of belonging. This section explores how the social effect of event experiences creates sites to express culture and the many ways in which those involved experience the world. Some of the communities are small and local, and others span countries and cultures in the real and virtual worlds. For the Indian communities, participating in events is about creating sites for enjoying and sharing communal cultural identity, and the collective experiences are often transnational. This premise pursues Anthony Seeger's argument that music and the performing arts provide a context for the formulation and negotiation of cultural meaning and identity (Seeger, 1987).

Many of the producers in this study created events as community environments in which they feel could feel at home. This applies to individuals producing their own concerts as well as producers creating concerts and festivals on behalf of cultural organisations. Often these producers will aim to attract audiences and performers that reflect specific cultural affiliations. Others, like government agencies, see their role as producers as that of providing a space in which communities can share and blend. Events create opportunities for individuals to bond, and in the process communities are created and reinforced. In the following discussion and analysis, this function serves to address the role the production of events and community engagement plays in the very human question of "Where do I fit in?"

Community Belonging

Feeling at 'home' in a new locality is an important health issue, especially for women, for whom the experience can be very anxiety-producing (Bose, 2008; O'Shea, 2003; A. G. Roy, 2008). DeSouza expresses clearly the very important role that religious as well as other cultural organisations serve for migrant communities, especially for women settling into new communities (De Souza, 2011). The Migrant Heritage Charitable Trust Incorporated (MigHT-i) produces events that provide a platform specifically targeted at migrants. This organisation provides a wide variety of events uniting peoples from across linguistic and regional identities through concerts, theatre and radio. Collectively, these events offer new migrants experiences that connect them both their old and new homes and their multifaceted identities. The events are vegetarian and Hindu-themed, with the use of Hindi and English as common languages.

Community gatherings bring a sense of belonging and a sense of shared memory, thus reinforcing a sense of identity, but successful events offer content that reinforces the specific identities at issue. A recent memorial concert for a local musician gave the Marathi community the opportunity to share performances of Marathi Natya Sangeet³³ and Marathi-language devotional songs. This event was attended by friends, musicians and cultural community members bound together through their musical commonality.

The 2011 SAMAA event produced by MigHT-i, discussed in Chapter 3, was a community dance school celebration featuring Kathak and Bharatanatyam dance. The event gave a variety of dance teachers and their senior students an opportunity to showcase their skills. All of the performers were women, the audience was packed full of families. The event ticket included a vegetarian meal, creating an additional experience for participants, co-workers and audience, and an additional reinforcement of a specific set of identities. In the context of Seeger's argument that music and the performing arts provide a context for the formulation and negotiation of cultural meaning and identity (Seeger, 1987), this event demonstrates how producing events and participating in them reinforces cultural identity and collective experiences.

Community-wide festivals and events provide occasions to engage residents and visitors for a limited duration in themed celebrations of a community's identity (Derrett, 2000). The free and open-to-the-public cultural celebrations, such as Holi, create

³³ Natya Sangeet is a raga-based vocal form of classical and semi-classical repertoire.

contrasting event experiences in which cultures can mingle and enjoy a shared experience with participation from those inside and outside of the culture being represented. The events are designed to bring the 'others' into the cultural experience. In contrast, the exclusive nature of identity expressed at cultural society events, such as the 2012 Muttamil Sangam Cultural Society's Tenth Anniversary or Sur Sangam, creates a sense of 'home' often lost at larger festivals, such as Diwali: Festival of Lights or an Auckland Arts Festival event packed with 'others'.

The feeling of belonging can be experienced in micro-affiliations with friends and families at private events, or via participating in the larger macro environments of festivals and concerts with like-minded people. The event examples, discussed in this thesis have presented a range of quite different images of Indian identity, reflecting the cultural diversity of the Indian communities in Auckland and their production practices.

The globalisation of diasporic cultures creates multiple formations of cultural identity as well as geographical and conceptual cultural borders (Hopper, 2007; Tomlinson, 1999). Cultural performances serve as a means for defining personal identity by involvement in the process as performers, participants, spectators and producers. These fundamental identifiers enable individuals to arrive in new localities and use the event experience as a means to creating social relationships.

Some of the events studied in this research were intentionally designed to reinforce community understandings of nationalism and regionalism, e.g. festivals like Diwali or the Auckland Indian Association's annual Independence Day celebrations. Cultural societies may act as producers to create events to represent their specific cultural communities in which regional, religious and linguistic differences are clearly demarcated. The snapshot confirmed the extensive range of events produced for and by the cultural societies. The cultural societies presented classical and popular music and dance genres as well as theatre and festivals. Theatre was presented in Hindi, English and Bengali with the one large sell-out show being in Hindi and featuring overseas actors. Comedians are also popular, reaching out to specific linguistic communities such as a local Panjabi at a recent Independence Day celebration engaging the crowd in Panjabi.

The community producers create events that serve a very important community purpose. New migrants join cultural organisations to share local cultural interpretations of festivals and annual celebrations. The specific interpretation of cultural organisations feature specific regional identities, shared values, and cultural traditions that serve to bond like-minded people in a structure that maintains membership beyond a single event

experience. Cultural organisations create sites for deeper cultural participation as the events offer cultural experiences that reinforce cultural meaning. Communities bond as performers or audience as the event reinforces shared understandings, as parents with their children regularly listen, perform and share meals together.

An Independence Day celebration produced by members of the Indo-Fijian community can be held the same night as a South Indian classical dance school recital with no overlap of participants. A Carnatic vocal recital by Sudha Ragunathan will only be supported by the South Indian audience, and if held on the same night as the sell-out Rahat Fateh Ali Khan qawwali concert, would not compete for audience as the target markets are regional identity specific. Bollywood-based events, both commercial and amateur, may act as markers of a collective North Indian cultural identity. Similarly, classical concerts and language may unify northern or southern (rarely both) communities. There are few commercial events that appeal to both of these communities, who are differentiated by language, cultural and ritual differences. For the Indian communities, producing events and participating in them is about collective experiences, with specific choices of musical genres, and creates environments in which to feel comfortable and amongst friends.

The community organisation producers are motivated by the desire to affirm specific cultural practices that preserve the culture of their ‘original’ homelands within the Auckland Indian communities. Organisations represent Indian culture in a variety of ways. Clear regional divisions can be seen between northern Hindustani and southern Carnatic cultures. There are further divisions between the Sri Lankans and the Indo-Fijians and more recent arrivals from Africa.

As noted by Bandyopadhyay, as the composition of the Indian community becomes more diverse, any particular Hindu religious festival is no longer used to celebrate the cultural heritage of all Indians in a diasporic community (Bandyopadhyay, 2010). This can also be said for the multiple ways the producers of festival celebrations incorporate a variety of cultures, traditions and representations of popular and classical performances, as in the case of Manukau Indian Association or Diwali: Festival of Lights,

Dance performances play an important role in how the identity of women is portrayed to the community. Dance identity is culturally intertwined in the relationship of dance with India’s national identity (O’Shea, 2003, 2008). Bollywood, Bharatanatyam and fusion performances feature in events across all producer types. Dance performances include male and female dances, such as those seen at Indiance productions and Bollywood

competitions at large festivals. These events draw large crowds and involve large amounts of community participation.

Bharatanatyam is the most common classical dance form taught in Auckland, and is presented at community events, festivals and rites of passage. Bharatanatyam has become the official 'classical' dance of the middle- and upper-class south Indians. The dance is taught by women with the exception of a male Bharatanatyam performer in Wellington. Bharatanatyam is the most visible of the classical dance genres in community performances, and is often performed alongside the more popular Bollywood dance styles. Bharatanatyam is not always presented in the conventional 'pure' form. Events include traditional as well as modern interpretations that create a dance fusion that includes classical dance form. Classical dance identity is in a process of radical change (Meduri, 2004, 2008a, 2008b; Pillai, 2002). Film dance and song sequences have influenced the reinterpretation of Indian dance and what it means to be classical.

This phenomenon was demonstrated clearly in the "Shiva dance" case study discussed in Chapter 2. This study demonstrated how classical identity is transmitted through performance by aural and visual cues that reinterpret the pure classical form, creating new concepts of what classical identity is by the performers and the audience. Many of the classical dance teachers are involved in training students for their arangetrams. Many of the dance teachers do not have formal dance training, and incorporate Bollywood dance into the student's dance repertoire. This is a competitive arena as many parents support their daughters in this endeavour. The outcome can be very lavish and expensive recitals that include many costume changes and staging. The most prestigious of these events get written about in the Indian press. Some of the girls go to India to conclude their formal dance training in academies in Chennai.

Some teachers only teach Bollywood dance, and are mothers focussing on preparing their own children and those of their friends for the Bollywood dance competitions. Some teach by copying the choreography directly off videos. Others start dance academies. Some teachers have formal dance backgrounds from prestigious academies, and others are self-taught or have come through the New Zealand schools and have learned modern dance styles, including hip hop and jazz. The Diwali festivals include competitions for these students for prizes and accolades. There is an annual commercially run Bollywood high school dance competition as well as Indi King, an annual event just for competing males.

Community Participation

The ways in which a producer views the world, his or her cultural perspective, and the way he or she relates to Auckland’s Indian communities, all have an impact on how events attract audiences and present community identity to the wider public and, most fundamentally, on the producer’s approach to engaging community participation.

Table 6. Holi Celebrations Produced by Cultural Associations

Event and Producer	Community Affiliations	Community Approach
Holi Festival: A Festival of Colours Waitakere Indian Association Established 2000	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cultural association: Hindu cultural organisation with high Indo-Fijian and Gujarati membership • Business and media community • Human Rights Commission • Radio Tarana 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Community-targeted festival • Indo-Fijian and Gujarati identities • Encourage participation from others • Families and local community residents
Holi 2012 Festival of Colours Bhartiya Samaj Established 1995	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cultural society: South Asian cultural umbrella with Hindu religious affiliations • Humm FM launch – Bollywood Hindi-language radio station – Bollywood performances 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Community-targeted festival • Hindi language • Encourage participation from families of pan south-Asian identity, specifically Hindi speakers
Holi Hungama New Zealand Indian Student Association Founded 2011	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cultural association, not religious • Virtual networks • Youth culture • University student networks • Local business sponsors 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Community-targeted festival • Pan-India tertiary students • Diverse religious, gender and linguistic groups – global India united • Diverse Indian cultural identity Manukau City

Table 6 compares the community affiliations and approaches to community engagement observable in Holi Festival: A Festival of Colours (Holi Mela), produced by Waitakere Indian Association; Holi 2012 Festival of Colours, produced Bhartiya Samaj; and Holi Hungama, produced by New Zealand Indian Students Association. Each of these three events offered a different interpretation of a traditional Hindu celebration in

Auckland's public spaces, aligned with the concerns and identities of specific community orientations. All three celebrations encouraged an event environment that welcomed 'others' to experience the celebrations, although all three producers had different notions of 'others'. The Holi Mela encouraged other ethnic communities to share their performance cultures with the local Indian community, specifically welcoming refugees from Africa and Asia. The Holi Festival of Colours reflected the Bollywood radio station theme and attracted a wide variety of politicians from inside and outside of the local Indian community. Holi Hungama targeted students, residents in Manukau City, and produced an event for the virtual world.

WIA's Holi Mela reflected the organisation's high Indo-Fijian and Gujarati membership. WIA is a Hindi-language-based organisation that receives support from the Human Rights Commission for the community's senior programmes and migrant issues. Auckland has become home to waves of Indians escaping the Fijian coup d'état of December 2006 and the continuous pressure the Indo-Fijian population has endured since the previous 2000 coup d'état and years of political crisis in which the Indo-Fijian population's rights have been increasingly taken away (Leckie, 2007, 2010). This event is an opportunity for community schools to perform and allows any cultural group from the wider community to participate.

The Holi Festival of Colours was co-produced by Bhartiya Samaj and Humm FM. This celebration strengthened networks linking South Asian business, and fostered networking opportunities. Bhartiya Samaj unites Hindu-affiliated organisations representing the old, wealthy, established Indo-Fijian and Gujarati communities who assist new arrivals. For many of the Indo-Fijians, Fiji and not India is their homeland (Voigt-Graf, 2008). The way in which the community approaches social relations in India (caste, language and religious differences) is not replicated in Fiji, where inter-communal relations are more amicable (Safran et al., 2008, p. 4).

Bollywood is popular among this community and they support the large Bollywood events and video retail outlets. The two major Indian radio stations and the Indian community TV station are managed by members of the Indo-Fijian community. The programming includes a strong Bollywood focus, reflecting the cultural community preferences. Community members also run nightclubs featuring Bollywood music and hold Bollywood dance competition events.

During this study, some more recent migrants from India expressed their disapproval drinking of the popular Pacific Island alcoholic brew, Kava, and other such

Indo-Fijian cultural practices that manifest in this community's public events. Such different cultural practices create a clear division of how culture is represented by the different cultural communities, which becomes quite clear when specific communities support specific events. These differences make it difficult to find a united pan-Indian community voice in many cases.

This is in strong contrast to Holi Hungama, which was produced by NZISA, a cultural association that includes members from New Zealand tertiary institutions from across Indian religions and cultures, viewing India from a global, youth-oriented perspective. They sought the support of the local Indian association in Manukau City which has members and their children of one of the oldest cultural associations. Holi Hungama presented a different approach to the other two Holi celebrations. The event was designed as a dance party, recreating the raucous village tradition of this traditional springtime festival. They connected their event experience with friends, family and strangers through the virtual world by creating a YouTube video that went viral.

The community participates in a wide range of events that link human beings to their own histories, cultures and ethnic identities. In this way, the nature of events creates sites for specific community meanings and understandings. Language, religion, and broader ideas about cultural meanings are embedded in the process of the event experience for the producer as well as participants. Communities are nurtured, strengthened and grow.

Community Production Practices

Various performance events attract different communities within Auckland based on target markets representing a wide range of audiences split between old and new, young and mature, and conservative and liberal, as well as by religious and regional identities. Bollywood superstars may feature in events that attract large audiences united across many linguistic, religious and cultural boundaries. Cultural festivals may be designed to appeal to audiences outside of the Indian communities. Some smaller events are designed to attract narrow, targeted markets and will appeal to small audiences attracted to specific types of performers at specific types of venues.

The producers of the Unforgettable Music Festival successfully aligned the identity of the performers with the target audience. The venue is known as a club that attracts good performers. They created a safe environment for those 15 to 18 years of age. They marketed their event within and outside of the Indian community, and included local as well as overseas performers. They attracted their audience through a virtual world

marketing campaign using Facebook and online ticket sales, appealing to a young, hip market. The city location they chose as their venue is on major bus routes and near where many students, especially foreign students, live in city apartments. Imran Khan is a hip hop artist with no connection to Bollywood, and is respected for his recordings and compositions. Known as a Pakistani rapper, he was, in fact, born in Holland.

This example is in contrast to another club event that demonstrates subtle differences between various Indian identity subsectors and approaches to production practice. Hard Kaur was presented in a nightclub that attracts an older drinking crowd of mainly Indo-Fijians. Kaur is marketed as India's first female rap artist. She is actually a hip hop performer who was born in India in 1979 but raised in the UK, returning to India in 2007 to work as a playback singer and actress in Bollywood. The event was not a success, as she did not appeal to the regular club's clientele, and those she would appeal to do not normally attend this kind of nightclub. One of the reasons given as to why the event was not a success was the reputation of the club owner as not having the ability to deliver events with good sound and staging, creating an uncomfortable event environment. Kaur's Bollywood identity was not enough to draw a crowd and her hip hop identity was far more aligned with audiences identifying with black American youth culture. Hip hop is an extremely popular genre within the Pacific and Māori communities and has served as a means to raise their musical identity and political voices (Mitchell, 2002). In Auckland, a UK hip hop artist would appeal more to the Pacific Island youth than to the middle-aged Indo-Fijian men who frequent the nightclub where this event was presented.

These two events serve to compare and contrast how production practices affect the way events attract audiences inside and outside of the producer's cultural affiliations. Events provide more than entertainment and identity reinforcement. Community support is based on more than the producer's genre preference, as for production practices to be successful they must be placed in a cultural framework. What is meant by a cultural framework is how the producer designs the event, including content and marketing, to appeal to specific target markets. The cultural framework may be outside of the producer's personal cultural affiliations and preferences.

For example, Falguni Pathak performed dandiya at a ticketed concert associated with the annual Hindu Navaratri festival organised by the Gujarati community. The commercial producer was not from Gujarat, but he recognised the market potential for the event. The producer depended on the size of Auckland's Gujarati population, calculating

that there was a good chance that the community would get behind the opportunity to see Falguni Pathak's first performance in New Zealand.

The Navaratri Festival is a nine-day celebration that includes dance forms that are specific to Gujarati cultural traditions (garba and dandiya). Falguni Pathak is a Mumbai-based singer who has recorded songs for Bollywood movies, but is better known for her career as a performer of the traditional music and dance of Gujarat. Pathak is most famous for her dandiya performances at Navaratri, a dance steeped in spiritual references to the goddess Durga. She performs in India and also travels the world performing in the Gujarati diasporic communities. The Gujarati community supported the event and AP, the commercial producer was pleased with the outcome. AP was breaking into a new niche market in which he does not share regional or linguistic connections. He recognised the commercial potential of the show and is sufficiently respected within the Gujarati community, for it has supported his event.

This is in contrast to Toiar Rau, a Konkani dramatic theatre production produced for and by one of the smallest linguistic communities in Auckland. Toiar Rau attracted an audience limited by the size of the community of Konkani-language speakers in Auckland, who are for the most part Goans and Catholic. The event filled the 310 seats at the Freeman's Bay Community Hall. In this case, the event was produced in an internal cultural framework, by and for a specific cultural identity. Events that reinforce specific cultural communities seek to transmit the key values, ideologies and content of their specific notions of cultural identity to younger members of their own community (whose opportunities may be limited in diasporic settings) and in some cases to those outside their cultural community.

Culture may be transmitted through participation or observation; in either case, all events across all producer types and genres fulfil this function. Schools and cultural societies play especially important roles in creating, maintaining and nurturing cultural identities that they often present through performance events. Cultural schools engage in cultural transmission directly through teaching music and dance, but schools are also important suppliers of event content for concerts and festivals produced by government agencies, cultural organisations and commercial producers. Such performances function as opportunities for performers, particularly new migrants, to establish their teaching practice and express their performance identity to the wider public communities.

Table 7. Community Focus of Cultural Schools and Societies

	Event and Producer	Musician Cultural Identities	Community Focus
Schools and Societies	Classical North Indian sitar concerts Hindustani Cultural School “A” (Established 2000) Panjabi Cultural Music School “B” (Established 2008)	Musician from Calcutta (sitar); Hindu & Bengali speaker “A” Hindustani, Hindu, Hindi speaker “B” Panjabi, Sikh, Panjabi speaker	Conventional classical performance using cultural school student networks
	Unison/Samvaad Panjabi Cultural Music School “B” (Established 2008) Fusion concert based on classical Panjabi musical traditions	Classical vocal devotional kirtans from Panjab (Panjabi Sikh) with local jazz musicians and cultural school students	Conventional classical and experimental performance Sikh community with “other” performers
	Sur Sangam North-south collaboration Hindustani Cultural School “A” (Established 2000) Carnatic Cultural School “B” (Established 2005) Carnatic Cultural Society “C” (Established 2011)	KG from Mangalore, Hindu (saxophone) & RM from Varanasi, Hindu (bansuri) (A) Hindustan Hindu Hindi (B) Hyderabad Hindu Telugu (C) Chennai Hindu Tamil	Conventional classical performance presenting united Indian ethos Three community organisation networks

Table 7 compares and contrasts three cultural school events discussed in Chapter 3. The chart shows the diversity of linguistic, regional and religious perspectives of the local cultural school and society producers as well as the overseas performers they were promoting. When comparing Hindustani cultural school producer/performer “A”, who arrived in Auckland in 2000, with Panjabi cultural music school producer/performer “B”, who arrived in Auckland in 2008, quite different approaches are displayed to engaging audiences and producing concerts.

“A” teaches classical music with his brother while his wife looks after the household. This musician comes from a particularly traditional background. He lives in a male-dominated world and teaches tabla to boys from the local community, attracting mainly Hindu families. On the other hand, in the Sikh family of “B”, both husband and wife have advanced musical training and share the family business of music education. She teaches classical vocal music and harmonium in their cultural school. The students in this school are predominantly Sikh from their local community in a different section of Auckland. They go out of their way to encourage girls to study music – including tabla, an idea that does not fit the more traditional Indian notions of tabla players being male. This is

an important gender identity issue challenged by women tabla players in India and the west. Although professional female tabla players can be found in India and the USA, this issue had not been challenged before in Auckland. It reflects the more gender-equal consciousness in the Sikh community that is quite different from the more conservative Hindu community values. The community solidarity that the Sikh communities tend to demonstrate provides “B” with support as a performer and teacher and as part of a small minority community with a history of working together. The Sikhs are united by a religious and regional identity with a long history of cultural maintenance and transmission in an early and widespread diaspora.

The Hindu community is united under a much broader religious banner that is more culturally diverse, with multiple languages, regional customs, food and even deities. The modern Indian identity is a product of local cultures divided by languages, religions and customs, as well as historical trajectories, bundled together by images, ideologies, and capital (Appadurai & Breckenridge, 1995). Common Hindu traditional values may have contributed (at a relatively minor level) to the relationships that helped “A”, a North Indian, co-produce an event with south Indian community organisations. It can also be noted that members of the two culture regions unite through a sense of “Indianness” represented in the music of established classical musicians. In contrast, Panjabi Sikh community identity certainly provides “B” with audience and student support, and access to artists from that community.

Many cultural organisations, including those discussed in this study, produce standalone events intended for largely (and sometimes solely) internal consumption. All three of the events in Table 7 fit into this category. “A” and “B’s” involvement in the classical North Indian sitar concerts with the sitar player in the first row of Table 7 was driven largely by their competitive relationship in the small Auckland market. “A” and “B” were more successful in their associations with the other two events included in Table 7 in which they did not compete with each other. Instead, “A” and “B” took on the role of producers/performers interacting in the larger community within the specific community niche sectors in which they are comfortably members.

Concluding Remarks on Community

Events create spaces in which communities culturally transmit values and individuals can share their hopes and dreams. The question of “How do I fit in?” applies to the audience

participants and producers alike. The culturally diverse nature of the Indian community results in the creation of a multitude of events that reflect various community needs and cultural practices. The ability for the producer to successfully deliver an event is dependent on production practice skills and the placement of the event in a cultural framework. Some events are produced to reinforce specific cultural practices and seek to appeal to a specific cultural and linguistic affiliation. As the Indian community has increased in numbers and cultural diversity, the range of event types and production practices has also increased.

As previously discussed, until the 1980s, the Indian population was relatively stable and was made up mainly of Gujarati Hindus and Panjabi Sikhs, whose events remained hidden within their communities. Since 1997, Indian cultural events have been produced as well as publicly assisted by government agencies. Some religious organisations bring religious leaders from India. This was particularly apparent in the late 1990s when the Sikh populations were growing and new gurdwaras were being established in Manukau City and the southern suburbs. Music is taught and performed in the gurdwaras and there are annual religious events that involve music and dance. These are also taught in the Hindu communities and are part of annual celebrations and rituals.

The 1995 Festival of India, produced by the Hare Krishna community, was the first public show of Indian religious practice to ‘other’ communities. With the shift from the festival in 1995 as a religious parade to the 1996 model of a festival with performers and food and craft stalls, the event created far larger opportunities for participation from outside of the Hare Krishna community. The way in which the Hare Krishna community represents Indian cultural identity has exotic appeal, to some, who are of European cultural heritage. Their festivals create recruitment opportunities and attract members from within as well as outside of the Indian cultural communities.

Auckland’s Hare Krishna community was founded in 1972 and has a strong membership of non-Indian members. This reflects the organisation’s membership recruitment in western countries, as recorded over three decades ago in the USA by E. Burke Rochford (1982). The cultural representation of Indian identity has been reinforced by popular music, for example, George Harrison’s 1970 song “My Sweet Lord”.³⁴ The

³⁴ George Harrison was the lead guitarist of The Beatles. In the 1965, he discovered Hinduism and became a devout member of its faith, immersing himself in Indian culture, music, and philosophy. He travelled to India to study the sitar from Ravi Shankar. Harrison influenced other members influencing the Beatles’ musical compositions and instrumentation of their recordings. One of his most famous songs from his solo career post-Beatles is "My Sweet Lord", which features multiple lines regarding Hare Krishna, a mantra, referencing manifestations of the Hindu god Krishna. “My Sweet Lord” was released in 1970, appearing on the album *All Things Must Pass*.

festivals include Indian culture, vegetarian food stalls and amateur local performers who present mainly classical music and bhajans (religious songs) that create opportunities to showcase conventional Indian culture to ‘other’ communities. English is used as a common language, and events are designed to reflect conventional notions of Indian culture, including saris, Hindu deities, chanting and yoga.

This community is in strong contrast to the other community organisations that do not go out of their way to appeal to ‘outsiders’. While there is considerable activity and annual events based on the transmission of the south Indian Bharatanatyam dance styles, there is little comparable activity in what is considered the northern classical style, Kathak. Instead, North Indian communities tend to focus on what is called Bollywood dance, as described by Shresthova (2008). Film culture plays an important role across many of the Indian cultural communities.

Film songs are an important element of popular culture, and provide a sense of shared memory and identity that binds communities. The electronic media has played a major role in transmitting Indian cultural identity through the virtual world of recordings and film. In this way, the electronic media has the ability to “make collective memory a crucial constituent of individual and group identity in the modern world” (Lipsitz, 1990, p. iv). The findings also demonstrate the importance of classical music and dance in transmitting culture as well as uniting the various regional, linguistic and religious communities.

In these many ways, the case studies analysed in this thesis have demonstrated how music “constructs and mobilises ethnicity and identity as it articulates the cultural self and distinguishes the self from the other” (M. Stokes, 1994, p. 5). Live performance events in Auckland provide collective experiences that serve an important function in uniting Indian communities through large and small events alike. It is the communities who provide the producers with an audience. Without this support the producers are not able to present successful events.

Emerging Theme: Feasibility

The challenge for all producers is the ability to deliver an event that is feasible. Questions about feasibility consider achievable goals, and benchmarks on which to measure potential success and on which to base post-event evaluations. Feasibility is dependent on access to resources, which fall into the categories discussed above: event support, event content,

funding and publicity. Each producer, however, has different resource needs and identifies a unique set of event objectives, depending on their specific set of goals for the event.

This understanding of feasibility recognises that revenue generation is required to meet the economic requirements of the event resources. The producer may be motivated by a sense of purpose other than profit, but in the end, all events require access to funding. Previous case studies have illustrated how some events are promotional events not designed to generate a profit, as in the case of Holi Festival of Colours, while others are completely profit-driven, as in the case of the Rahat Fateh Ali Khan concert. At the same time, both events were economically feasible as both producers accessed the necessary event resources and met their strategic event goals.

The producer's identity, social standing in the community and past experience play important roles in the management of production practices and the ability to create economically feasible events. The identity of the producer and where the producer fits into the larger host community can significantly affect the producer's goals, motivation and their ability to access the necessary economic resources. The following discussion and analysis addresses the role feasibility plays in this study by asking the question, "Can I meet my goals?"

Economic Realities: Producers, Venues and Audience

The reality of event management is that not all events produced are economically practical. At the same time, economic outcomes are not always the goal or motivation of the producer. Not all producers measure the success of all events in terms of profit. Events, however, do require a return on investment (ROI). While ROI may take the form of economic gain, it may also come through the generation of larger promotional opportunities or the public presentation and improved reputation of a cultural community or group. ROI may take the form of enjoyment of the experience itself or the assertion of control by government organisations. This is true across all of the event types, including free festivals and commercial concerts produced by entrepreneurs, community organisations or government agencies (Raj & Musgrove, 2009). In the case of commercial concerts or free festivals, the producer will expect to meet the set budget goals, although the way to access the resources required will vary.

Concerts and festivals, as categories/genres/types of events, have quite different management structures and stakeholder relationships that commonly create quite different relationship networks. A major difference in production practice between the two event

types is how the producer designs the event to generate revenue. The two different event types require different kinds of relationships to access funding resources. They also require quite different levels of sponsorship and funding dependent on producer identity, whether a government agency, community organisation, or commercial producer. Government agencies have strategic economic advantages, as they have access to and control over resources unavailable to commercial producers and community organisations. Funding, venues, personnel, overseas performers and marketing are resources that allow government agencies to hold large events either free of charge or with subsidised ticket prices through arts festivals.

Community organisations have the capability to create feasible events and festivals by relying on internal support from members within the community organisation. Economic feasibility is based on volunteers as personnel and performers to keep expenses to a minimum. When producers contract overseas performers for ticketed concerts, the expenses are usually shared with like-minded organisations in the region. Community organisations have the ability to create low-budget events, with the organisation picking up any economic shortfall.

Commercial producers take personal responsibility for economic risks. Economic feasibility for commercial producers is dependent on personal contacts, access to popular performers, contract negotiation skills, ticket sales and sponsorship. These factors rely on the commercial producer's individual capabilities to build networks that successfully create access to a ROI. All successful producers rely on the sustainability of their networks to continue creating events that are economically feasible.

Events are inherently resource-dependent, and this factor contributes to the risky economic environment that producers may face. The case studies explored in this research include concerts with superstars packing large arenas as well as performing to empty auditoriums, and festivals depending on the support of ongoing government funding relationships. The challenge for all event producers is maintaining networks that support resource-dependent events. Festivals require additional layers of production networks as they are free, with minimal income contributions from stallholders. The WIA Holi Festival, the Festival of Asia, and Diwali: Festival of Lights, The Manganiyar Seduction and Kalaranjani's Krishnan and Rajam violin tour (although technically not a festival) are good examples of production networks that are resource-dependent. Without government support, these events would not be feasible. Resource dependency may put the producers in a financially precarious position or may create assets.

Event Requirements

The following section contrasts and compares producers and event types in order to discuss and analyse differing types of event requirements and issues of economic feasibility. The section starts with government agencies and cultural organisations producing festivals and concludes with commercial producers. The producer type affects the goals of the event and the way which event resource requirements are incorporated into the way in production practices are designed to create an economically feasible event. Examples from previous case studies illustrate the differences between the economic feasibility of concerts and festivals produced with the differing profit goals and access to funding required by government agencies, cultural associations and commercial producers.

The festivals analysed in this research were produced by cultural organisations as well as government agencies. All events are resource-dependent, but as cultural festivals offer free admission to the public, direct economic return from ticket sales is not possible. This being the case, the festival producers require access to sponsorship or other pro bono contributions in order to create a feasible event. A government-produced festival is likely to have different goals and underlying ideology than a festival produced by a cultural organisation. Government agencies support cultural festivals as a means of formalising and institutionalising ethnic relationships and because they hope to secure political support from the communities represented or, perhaps, even from the original home countries from which a particular ethnic community emigrated. Cultural organisations, on the other hand, produce festivals for cultural transmission and to sustain the cultural community, which may be based on religion, language or region.

Festivals may grow and mature over the years, taking on the attributes of permanent institutions, with associated assumptions about feasibility or sustainability. This occurs when the festival becomes an entity that creates its own brand. Festivals unite sectors of the community (whether sports, ethnic, political or the arts) for a specific purpose, creating an “institution” that becomes a permanent, legitimate and valued part of society. This being the case, producers who have established annual community festivals have strategic competitive advantages in accessing resources over producers creating new community festivals.

This point is clearly demonstrated by the New Zealand Carnatic Music Society’s (NZCMC) annual music festival over Queen’s Birthday weekend. This three-day festival is produced by and for the south Indian community as a way of legitimising their musical

culture by featuring students, teachers and overseas performers celebrating the classical compositions of the mid-eighteenth- to mid-nineteenth-century classical music composer Thyagaraja. The NZCMS' Thyagaraja festivals have created an 'institutionalised sustainable resource environment model' that is replicated by other similar cultural organisations in localities with large South Indian populations globally. Getz et al. point out that "Institutionalisation involves becoming so important to the community that the festival or the organisation cannot be abandoned even in extreme cases of financial failure. It involves the creation of a unique support network so committed and powerful that the network itself takes ownership. Very few festival organisations are likely to reach this status. For the rest, achieving sustainability is a constant struggle" (2007, p. 121).

In this case, the NZCMS producer has access to sustainable resources through networks similar to cultural society producers in a united transnational community that is linked under one common goal. Similar organisations globally create opportunities that access shared resources including performers, repertoire and teachers, in which events are created annually to collectively honour the life and music of Thyagaraja. The economic feasibility of this event is dependent on the ability to share the overseas performers with similar cultural associations in other cities in the region, such as Wellington and Sydney.

A government-agency-produced festival is likely to have a different purpose and ideological basis than a festival produced by a cultural organisation. For example, Auckland City Council's 1999 decision not to bid for the WOMAD (World of Music, Arts and Dance) Festival was based on a resource issue. It was a resource-based decision for the Taranaki Trust, which assumed production of WOMAD, but in addition to local sponsorship (in this case from a large local oil producer), local city council and the central government saw the festival as a way to increase the region's visibility on the tourist circuit, creating an added incentive in the decision-making process.

Even a ticketed festival such as WOMAD would not be feasible without government partnerships, as the council serves as the regulator and business partner as well as facilitator. Some of the large commercial events attracted Indian audiences from around the country to Auckland, for example, Rahat Fateh Ali Khan and Asha Bhosle. These events would have had a very small economic impact on Auckland's tourism industry and statistics are not available.

During the course of this research, Diwali: Festival of Lights was specified by Auckland Council as a 'major event' and moved into the tourism event destination portfolio of ATEED. The findings in Chapter 4 show that this 'major event' status may not

be sustainable. If the festival loses major sponsors and the support of the Indian communities, the longevity of the event will be put into question. The small market size of New Zealand and its geographical isolation play a factor in the economic feasibility of all events, and with the Council currently focused on sports and not the cultural sector, the perpetuation of the Festival in its current form relies on the decisions of those making public cultural policies.

In the case of Auckland Arts Festival, the performance events within the festival draw on funding, and with government agency stakeholders assuming multiple roles as event producers, suppliers and marketers only accessible by the Council-controlled team. The event content is designed to include events that vary in size and popularity, as arts festivals by definition are experimental. For example, *The Manganiyar Seduction* can only be presented within Council management as its producers have direct access to resources and are not personally accountable to the budget if the event is not a success. These factors make it virtually impossible to replicate this specific type of event outside of the government framework. Auckland Council is always a regulator of the events they are involved in producing as they usually have the authority to decide if, when, and to a certain degree, how the festival and its content are produced (Getz, et al., (2007).

The choice of programming at the Auckland Arts Festival and THE EDGE International Arts Season is based on attracting white, middle-class audiences who will enjoy experiencing events that present Indian culture. Orientalism and the exotic nature of *The Manganiyar Seduction*, combined with highly visible promotion, created a direct appeal for European audiences. The Rajasthani theme, with its exotic instruments and costumes, combined with sumptuous colours, presented a vision of India that is exotic, colourful, and seductive and at the same time familiar for audiences that were largely non-Indians of New Zealand-European cultural identity (Chaudhuri, 2009; Henderson & Weisgrau, 2007; Said, 1978).

This example demonstrates how Council-produced festivals have the resources to attract the attention of large audiences outside of the Indian community through expensive promotion campaigns. Independent producers would not have access to the same level of funds for advertising, mainstream media relationships and control of the venue and ticket distribution, as well as assuming no personal financial risks.

To present overseas performers in Council venues outside of the Council festival networks has proved difficult for commercial producers from the Indian community. RI, a very experienced local commercial producer, successfully presented the late Jagjit Singh in

the ASB Theatre. Jagjit Singh was a famous and popular performer of ghazals, traditional love songs linked to Persian poetic traditions. The genre is hard to understand, and attracts an educated audience of North Indians who can understand the poetic Hindi/Urdu/Panjabi in which Singh sang. This type of event does not have the wide appeal of a Bollywood show as the potential audience is far narrower.

For the Jagjit Singh event, although the venue was expensive, it is elegant and considered prestigious creating an event that honoured this famous artist whose repertoire is considered part of a classical tradition. The event was publicised within the Indian community attracting an exclusively Indian audience. The event was produced by and for the Indian community interacting with THE EDGE management as a venue broker contracting the venue and staff for event support. This was the only commercially successful event produced by a member of the Indian community in a venue at THE EDGE during the snapshot.

The producers of The Manganiyar Seduction and the Jagjit Singh concert created two successful events that demonstrate very different ways in which resources can be accessed. The Manganiyar Seduction accessed resources within the government power structure, and the producer of Jagjit Singh was dependent on production skills and the local community for support. The Council producers were not individually taking a risk; the risks of government-produced events, in the end, fall on the taxpayers. The commercial producer took all of the financial risks and kept whatever profit he made. He also raised his profile, as a successful producer, within the Indian community. The Jagjit Singh and Asha Bhosle ticket prices were 30 percent higher than tickets for The Manganiyar Seduction but attracted much larger Indian audiences.

This is in contrast to the low price for Manganiyar Seduction tickets that attracted a much larger non-Indian audience that traditionally supports “experimental” festival performances. The attractive ticket price was only possible through government agency relationships that control access to funding resources. The Council and Auckland Festival Board Trust are only capable of producing economically feasible events by creating budgets that depend on receiving economic support from corporate sponsorship and tax-funded public arts funding policies. This demonstrates the economic advantages government agencies have as event producers. Auckland Council has financial control over the major cultural and arts festivals produced in Auckland City.

Venues and Ticket Distribution

Venues and ticket distribution networks are vital resources that can affect the feasibility of events. Ticket distribution is a key resource for the feasibility of ticketed events. The method by which tickets are distributed varies by venue policies, size of event and producer preferences. The different types of producer choose specific venues and ticketing methods depending on their relationship networks and the audience numbers the event is projected to attract.

Council-produced events use their own ticket agents, venues and preferred suppliers. Indian producers tend to chose venues in which they are able to control the distribution of tickets within the Indian community. Ticket distribution through the local Indian businesses is very popular, as producers are able to promote the event cheaply and efficiently without high ticket agent fees. This arrangement is also popular with the local businesses that benefit from ticket buyers as customers. ASB Theatre and the Auckland Town Hall do not offer such opportunities for local businesses.

The ASB Theatre and the Auckland Town Hall are venues managed by THE EDGE, as discussed in Chapter 3. This is also true of the privately owned Vector Arena, the largest venue in Auckland, which can provide up to 12,000 seats. Members of the Indian community have made it quite clear that the venues are not popular with Indian producers or audiences alike. The in-house-only ticketing policy is inflexible and has high in-built fees for producers as well as customers. A cut is taken from all CDs sold front-of-house, and caterers as sponsors are not possible in the contract agreements at these venues.

One of the successful commercial producers discussed in Case Study 16 in Chapter 4 is presenting the Bollywood superstar, Shahrukh Khan on 4 October 2013, the first Indian event, to be presented at the Vector Arena. The outcome is unknown as the timing for this event is just out of the scope of this study. In 1995, a producer lost considerable money bringing Shahrukh Khan to Auckland, as the tickets did not sell well and were considered expensive at \$150. The economic reality in 2013 is quite different. The population is larger, the new migrants have good paying jobs and some producers have easily sold 6,000 tickets. The event will have to depend on also attracting ticket buyers who are willing to pay \$200 to \$600 per ticket for the 10,000 tickets available. The initial outlay for this kind of event is close to \$1 million, and required the producer to approach and secure the support of wealthy sponsors. An enticement for the sponsor is the opportunity to build new business networks through unique positioning at the concert, as well as having personal contact with the famous Bollywood stars. A show of this

magnitude attracts the mainstream press, reflecting the popularity of 'Bollywood', and taps into the government's current interest in trade agreements with India, specifically Indian companies to produce films in New Zealand.

Concluding Remarks: Feasibility

One of the key factors to event feasibility is the right venue choice. The venue must be the right size for the expected audience. It can be argued that the 'embourgeoisement' of the Indian diaspora and the growth of consumer culture within it (Safran et al., 2008) has played a key role in the events produced for and by the Indian community in Auckland. The growth in population and, specifically, the educated professional community has led to a shift in production practices. This has led to a growth from community organisation-based events to the growth of events showcasing global stars.

The feasibility of an event is dependent on meeting economic goals and objectives. Concerts and festivals are dependent on ROIs that may be economic, but may also connect to the wider strategic goals of the producer. The different types of producers and the type of event being produced affect the economic approach to meeting specific event goals. Profits may be the major concern for a commercial producer. For the government agencies and community organisations, sustainable networks may take higher priority.

The producer's inability to create a feasible event may be due to a number of factors that block access to vital resources. The failure to establish relationships may be due to a number of factors, including cultural identity, community affiliations, personality and skills. The relationships and networks they create make the difference as to economic outcomes for all types of events and all types of producers.

Community organisations have a significant advantage over other producers, as they are able to access sufficient resources from within their organisation to ensure feasible events. The collective skills and united sense of identity create a willingness to contribute resources in many cases, and thus offer community organisations opportunities to mobilise performers, audience and financial backing that few commercial producers are able to amass quickly. Funding is sometimes available from city funding set aside for community cultural organisations, but the organisations cannot rely on it for their economic survival.

This is in strong contrast to government agencies that rely on financial backing from other government agencies and from sponsors (who are, in effect, sponsoring both the community involved and the government itself) that follows the ever-changing rules of government arts policies. These government agencies seek audiences from across the wider

local Auckland communities, always hoping to tap into the ever-increasing Indian communities but not having much luck over the period of this research. They have access to resources that are not available to the other producers, including subsidised venues and event support. Their ability to leverage this money is an issue of event feasibility and event longevity.

This discussion serves to place how the producer's identity has economic implications in the production process and event outcomes. Some producers have access to more powerful resources than others based on their personal relations, skills and competencies, affecting the feasibility of events they are able to successfully deliver. The producer's cultural identity and standing in the community and the type of producer, creates differential access to critical resources.

Emerging Theme: Power

In the context of this research, power is the ability to access required resources for a given event to be feasible. Feasibility is much more than a simple measure of monetary profit, as the ability to assert authority and control imperative to success across the performance industry (Gerstin, 1998). The ability to assert authority relies on reputation and respect in the community. In this context, power may be inherent in specific producer identities, but is also directly related to the kinds of networks and relationships that a producer may have established. Power is a critical asset that is required to achieve event goals. Goals is a broad term that means the tangible outcomes a producer hopes to achieve from an event, be they profit or growth in audience, reputation or strategic networks. Goals may be political, economic, cultural, artistic, or in combination, as determined by the event purpose and type of producer. Goals can be identified in the long and short term and used as benchmarks to grow reputations. Reputation can be acquired as an individual or as part of a collective.

Power is an influential factor in all organisations. It can be defined as the ability to get another individual, group, or an organisation to do something, that might not be done otherwise. Power in the broad sense is collected through possessing and controlling resources valued by another party. Interdependence exists when each control a resource valued by another. Power in this way is relational (Kotler & Scheff, 1997, p. 454). Power is accumulated, and can be personal or collective. Power is not equally distributed. Because power affects a producer's access to the resources necessary for an event's production, power is closely linked to and directly affects the success of an event. In some

form or other, power is necessary if an event is to be feasible in more than theory. Producers may have the ability to access resources because they hold power in the form of direct control of political, cultural, social or economic relationships (e.g. the Auckland Council or NZCMS) or because they have industry relationships that provide them with access to popular performers and support teams, as in the case of successful commercial producers.

The three primary types of producer that have been proposed – cultural organisations (Chapter 2), government agencies (Chapter 3), and commercial producers (Chapters 4 and 5) – often define event success in distinctive ways. In their support and production of festivals and community events, governments and the agencies they control frequently seek to increase the level of political support coming from the communities represented by those events by establishing or reinforcing networks within those communities that will generate political support. In contrast, the goals of cultural organisations share a broad concern with *communitas*, cultural representation and the desire to produce events that allow members to share the experiences of identity that music and performing arts may provide. The goals of commercial producers fall understandably into the realm of financial gain. The producer's goals may not fit precisely into these categories but, to a significant extent, these different categories of goals require different resources and thus, different types of networks.

In a similar way, different kinds of producers may (and often do) have access to different kinds of relationships and networks. For example, community organisations have in-built cultural and social relationships that bring strength and power to their communities. Government organisations have in-built economic and political relationships that are connected to larger strategic networks. Commercial producers depend on their personal event management skills, community networks and the reputations of the performers they choose to present.

Community networks play a critical role in event promotion and ultimately, attracting an audience. The networks may be regionally, or linguistically determined, fan-based or both. If the producer is extremely wealthy and wants create to an event around a specific performer, an event can be produced that is small and exclusive or large and free, at the producer's discretion. Most commercial producers as individuals do not have that power. Individual, community, performer, or stakeholder reputations can affect the event outcome and whether the event goals can be met or not. With this in mind, the following

discussion and analysis examines the role power plays by addressing the question, “How do I achieve my goals?”

Different Producer Types and Access to Resources

Different types of producers – community organisations, government agencies and commercial entrepreneurs – frequently may have different kinds of goals, but all events require the same basic types of resources, as demonstrated in the previous chapters. As has also been shown, networks are the main sources of power in event production. Producers may use power as individuals, through teams or through their positions in organisations. A producer’s capability to access resources may be on micro or macro levels, and may be located within various sectors of a range of stakeholder relationships. Naturally, the larger and/or more costly the event, the more power is required for its production. Large cultural festivals, for example, are dependent on public funding, take place in highly political environments, and are only possible through the power of the government support (Clarke & Jepson, 2011; Kotler & Scheff, 1997; Picard & Robinson, 2006). This section considers how producers use various forms of networks to access the resources they need to achieve their goals.

Achieving Government Goals

New Zealand governments have demonstrated goals based around the courting of ethnically defined community groups as potential electoral supporters. Ethnically allocated festivals are one means by which successive governments have sought to garner community support. In pursuit of these goals, the government has access to resources through political relationships with their various agencies and network connections with semi-private agencies, most of which are not available to the other types of producers. For example, without the city’s management infrastructure and large contributions of taxpayer money these large public festivals, such as [Auckland Arts Festival events or Diwali: Festival of Lights] are not feasible. In exchange, the government expects a return in building reputation for the city as well as gaining favour with the voters.

The fact that city councils have strong political relationships with the policy-makers gives them a strategic advantage. Funding is a critical resource for events, whether concerts or festivals. Government agencies rely solely on government funding policies and government sponsorship arrangements to support their events. This type of power may be referred to as ‘legitimate’ power, as the councils and arts festival directors, is empowered

by the organisation and social system. Council and government agency producers are in the position to “govern at the consent of the governed”(Kotler & Scheff, 1997, p. 454).

Legitimate power gives the producer access to relationships with those who have the ability to support resources. Arts funding is determined by political agendas that often use events as a means of promoting far larger government strategic objectives. The 1997 Festival of Asia is an obvious example of an event designed to act as a catalyst for a larger political and economic agenda. Enhanced business relationships with Asia constituted the ROI for the government. The festival producers, Asia 2000, as a semi-public organisation, had a direct, political relationship with the government, which was the major source of power.

Jennifer King’s vision for Asia 2000 to create and support the 1997 Festival of Asia emerged from the political dialogue of the time. The political climate spurred the creation of her role as the government focussed on Asian business development under the leadership of Jim Bolger. These pragmatic goals superseded any possible economic return on the event itself. Helen Clark, then Minister for Arts, Culture and Heritage, was intent on building a strong Asian arts portfolio. Culture was seen as a means of bridging cultures and creating space for communication that would lead to increased business interaction.

New Zealand was not working in isolation and was influenced by other countries, including the USA and the UK, who were exploring the development of creative industries as a way to achieve economic development (Florida, 2004). New public policies and the resulting regulations and laws had major impacts across the events sector (Frith et al., 2009). The Festival of Asia and ongoing large government-supported cultural festivals are dependent on public policies that can be understood as acts of power, as they involve political power, special interest groups and lobbyists seeking to influence policies and issues (Hall & Rusher, 2004).

Government agencies as producers depend on political support from government agencies on the national, local and international levels for resources to produce events. The choice of overseas performers is often out of the control of the producers. Decisions are made in Delhi or by those controlling the funds. The choice of other elements of event content – such as branding, local performers and stallholders, in the case of festivals – is determined by council event staff with little community consultation. This being the case, the Indian community has little or no power in this situation. They consequently have little control over how their culture is represented, as power is held in the hands of the government.

The many events showcasing India during 1995 to 1999 in this study demonstrate how the power of the NZ government, through funding policies, city councils, specific agencies and even universities, created an environment conducive to the production of events that represented Asia. The government agency producers who were promoting Indian culture were able to take advantage of economic and political policies between policy institutions, creating institutional frameworks between legislators, government agencies, and public-private partnerships (Hall & Rusher, 2004). These political partnerships opened access to bring artists to New Zealand through government agencies and institutions Creative New Zealand, ICCR, Incredible India, Auckland City Council, Asia: NZ, and the University of Auckland's Faculty of Arts.

These government agencies and institutions frequently linked with community organisations in the production of events and often used political relationships to engage with sponsors and overseas promoters to bring overseas performers showcasing Indian culture not normally available in New Zealand. An iconic year for public and private sector initiatives was 1997, a year in which the New Zealand government was very busy developing political and economic networks across Asia. That year included more high-profile Indian cultural performance events with government agency involvement than any other year in this study.

Most access to these resources involves political relationships that may be directly or indirectly accessed by the government agencies. For example, the producer of Diwali: Festival of Lights relies on networks between government agencies external to the culture and the local Indian communities. Diwali: Festival of Lights aimed to promote diverse images of Indian culture to the Indian communities as well as across the wider Auckland target market. The Council sits in a precarious position balancing public policies and community representation. The Council and the Indian communities are in conflict as to how they are involved and how 'Indianness' is portrayed. This conflict establishes a struggle for power and control over the event and involves cultural representation, ROI and community participation. This is not an uncommon phenomenon in planning cultural festivals. As demonstrated by Clarke and Jepson, when the festival organisers control all festival planning and construction decisions, stakeholders are unable to hold any influence or have an effect on the decision making processes (2011, p. 11).

Large amounts of local, national and overseas government funds continue to support concerts and festivals. During the period of study a significant shift in community involvement in the Diwali festivities in Auckland was noticeable, as discussed in Chapter

4. The original festival was sited within the Indian community to present a celebration of pan-Indian culture to wider audiences. The 2002 Diwali: Festival of Lights had broad-based Indian community support with an estimated audience 40,000 (Gregory, 2004). The event was located in the Ghandi Centre, a venue owned by the Auckland Indian Association, whose membership reflects Auckland Indian community demographics. The event was modelled on Asia 2000's successful Auckland Chinese Lantern Festival which was first held in 2000. A wide variety of community performers and genres were represented, and the event endeavoured to create a traditional experience that engaged the community (King, 2002). By 2012, the event was managed by ATEED and the event content had shifted to a Kiwi festival with an Indian flavour.

This case study serves to present a clear example of how power is the control to access resources. ATEED has used the event to nurture strategic partners for its bigger city development initiatives, for example, negotiating a potential convention centre with Sky City. Sky City, Auckland's largest and internationally-owned casino, has little interest in the Indian community, just as the Indian community has little interest in the goals of this sponsor. The significant decline in stallholder and audience participation since 2011 is indicative that the producers are losing support from within the rapidly changing Indian communities. This is partially due to how ATEED's event management is perceived by members of the Indian communities.

Increasingly, voices of dissent have arisen with regards to the impact of new City Council policies that control the way India is represented. These voices are responses to increasing perceptions of powerlessness within the Indian communities, especially in the context of Diwali: Festival of Lights, the longest-running and largest event showcasing Indian culture in Auckland, as well as the recipient of the largest amount of government funding and other resources. In effect, the community's goals and the city's goals are quite distinct. The legitimate power controlled by the city is quite different from the 'expert' power the community brings to the festival. Diwali Festival of Lights is dependent on specialist cultural knowledge which the Indian community brings to the festival. In this case, the Indian community's expert power and Auckland Council's legitimate power, are inter-dependent as each controls resources valued by the other Kotler and Scheff (1997). Without this power relationship the festival is not feasible.

Sapna Samant's controversial documentary *Dance Baby Dance: Naach Gaana Hum Aur Tum* (2010) explores the role the government agencies' producers of Diwali: Festival of Lights play in representing India in Auckland. Samant argues that the event is

just a gathering of Indians who want create business and political networks within the hegemony. For those not from the Indian community, the government-sponsored Diwali allows them to feel good about tolerating ‘others’ without offering an opportunity to actually understand or appreciate the cultural diversity of the Indian communities. Samant argues it is the role of government involvement, and the limited understanding of India on the part of the new power brokers, that causes the event to lose both its cultural diversity and its appeal to the Indian public (Samant, 2010).

When the Diwali festival was first produced in Auckland, themes and signs of Diwali, familiar to all Indians, were present throughout the event. Now, however, informants argue that the event feels more like big business, with high stall fees; more importantly, the event no longer feels like a Diwali celebration. SU expresses her frustration, as have many other members of the Indian community that the event has become ‘Bollywood Diwali’ or ‘Radio Tarana Diwali’:

Radio Tarana just supports it as they want the exposure and they want to be there in front of people. Radio Tarana offers marketing and promotion strategy, but the Council needs the skills of the radio personalities to run the big stage events. On the stage I feel the performances and activities should as a whole reflect Diwali. Why do they not insist that the songs and dance should be focussed on the Diwali songs from the Bollywood repertoire? The event organisers are not from the Indian community and do not understand what the holiday is actually about and the deeper meanings for the Indian community. It is not that everybody knows everything about culture – they need to do research. Diwali should reflect the traditional theme. Diversity of Indian culture under the one Indian umbrella is problematic – the drawback is each person wants to own the Indian identity. (SU, personal communication, 13 September 2011)

The 2012 Diwali: Festival of Lights was held an entire month before Hindu calendar dates for Diwali celebrations in India. This prompted Indian community organisations to support their own Diwali celebrations, which many Indians patronised in preference to the ‘official’ event produced by ATEED. In arts management power is dependent several factors: resources, reputation, flexible use of resources and effective leadership (Kotler & Scheff, 1997). In this case, the Indian community has the power to participate or not, in the ATEED produced festival. They have their own legitimate power

within the Indian community, with the authority to produce their own Diwali celebrations.

Others in the community have voiced their opinions concerning the role of Radio Tarana and its hold on the programming of other Indian festivals as well as Auckland's Diwali: Festival of Lights, as was seen in the WIA and MIA Diwali Festival case studies. Diwali may not continue as an Auckland 'major event' after 2013, as its success is now determined by ATEED benchmarks. These benchmarks are based on growing strategic economic development by running events as a way to attract tourism dollars to Auckland.

ATEED is a key player, occupying a powerful role in the festivalisation process that is focussed on events that will grow Auckland as a tourist destination. It does not appear to be focussed on building relationships with the local Indian or creative industry communities and instead is nurturing relationships with corporate business partners such as Sky City Casino. During the period of this research, Auckland Council has signed an agreement with Sky City to build a convention centre in exchange for more gambling machines and gaming tables. The hope is that the venue will attract large groups of convention attendees who will pump lots of money into the local economy. The fear is the negative impact of more gambling and the connected social problems. Time will tell.

Clarke and Jepson (2011) argue that power can be seen as 'rules of the games', which enables and constrains action as popularised by the notion of hegemony. As government policies are currently being considered to increase further economic development, the Indian community's voice is less represented through government agencies and has become more vibrant through community organisations and commercial producers. In Asia:NZ's 2011 Outlook Series Reports on business culture in Asia, Rod Oram notes there is a "considerable array of soft skills in areas such as: languages; relationships; social and business customs and protocols; emotional and cultural intelligence; and cross-cultural decision-making, empathy, communication, team-building and leadership" (Oram, 2011, p. 23). Reflecting on these needs in a recent conversation, with Jennifer King, she pondered whether New Zealand is ready for another Festival of Asia.

Achieving Community Goals

Community organisation goals tend to centre on the representation of the culture in question and the production of events that allow members to share experiences that reinforce their sense of cultural identity. Thus, like government-produced events, financial returns on investment may not be a major goal for community producers. Very often, the

goal of community organisation events is to sustain cultural values and reinforce cultural transmission. The New Zealand Carnatic Music Society is an example of community association producers presenting sustainable events for over a decade. The events are produced for and by the community. The producers access resources within their specific south Indian cultural community networks to create a unified cultural identity. This is because goals of cultural organisations share a broad concern with strengthening their community and transmitting specific elements of Indian cultural identity.

Community producers focus on *communitas*, creating sites for cultural representation that allow members to share the experiences away from the eyes of the majority culture. The cultural community is embedded in the production process as resources. The community provides event content, event support, publicity, funding and audience. Cultural representation is embedded in the event, whether the NZISA creates a rain dance to celebrate Holi or the Indo-Fijians include performances of Faag or drink kava at their Diwali celebrations. The success of the events is dependent on the engagement of community networks.

Depending on the event requirements, the producer will access different types of community networks that may exist on the local, national and/or international levels. Community organisations are dependent on getting individuals, groups and other organisations to assist in producing events as volunteers. Community events have the ability to not only grow the support of membership in the community organisation but also cultivate the careers of the performers and their students. The performances are opportunities to enhance reputations and in turn reinforce and further strengthen the community organisation. In this way community organisations build expertise.

The highly successful cultural organisation Kalaranjani produced the Krishnan and Rajam project concert. This involved a complicated series of relationships that empowered the group to access the resources necessary to support a multi-city tour featuring performances and workshops, including a concert in Auckland's ASB Theatre. Kalaranjani accessed significant resources from government agencies and institutions, including the University of Auckland, Auckland City Council departments, Creative New Zealand and Asia: NZ. It was Kalaranjani's ability to create networks with 'others' that was essential for the production of this complex event. The networks provided critical resources that made the major concert on the tour in Auckland possible. Kalaranjani had created a unique niche that assured it access to resources, with management strategies that created a sustainable business model for events until 1998.

Kalaranjani's new management team in 1998 decided that they had enough power to access the resources they needed by themselves to produce high-profile events. This resulted in the severing of relationships with the University of Auckland, which had made significant contributions to Kalaranjani's power. In the same time period, Aotea Centre moved from being a community-based venue to a more corporate and commercial event-focussed venue under the new THE EDGE management structure. THE EDGE, under new policies, no longer shared resources with community organisations. This meant that the venues were hired out at commercial rates, as were the public relations and technical teams.

Consequently, the networks that Kalaranjani had established proved unsustainable after 1998 due to personnel changes in Kalaranjani's management, as well as the commercialisation of Aotea Centre and changes in the focus of government agencies and arts policies, leading to the growth of government-produced and -controlled cultural festivals. Kalaranjani found itself competing with commercial and government agency partnerships whose producers had previously been in Kalaranjani's production networks. Without this power, they were no longer able to compete for resources.

Kalaranjani could not survive, as it had lost its appropriate niche that assured it continued resources and the economic benefits that are embedded in this niche (Getz et al., 2007). The Kalaranjani organisation had disbanded by 2000. The commercialisation of Aotea Centre and the Town Hall becoming part of THE EDGE management had further repercussions on the delivery of feasible cultural events beyond Kalaranjani. Political, cultural and economic management policies created barriers for producers of cultural performance events.

Achieving Commercial Goals

As noted above, the goals of commercial producers are, in some ways, the clearest-cut and most direct of the three producer categories. Commercial producers seek to generate direct financial returns on their investments in event production. Despite this, commercial producers depend on relationship networks that provide them with the power to access the resources necessary to their events. Some producers have been more successful in developing and maintaining power through relationships than have others. This in turn builds their reputations within networks, increasing opportunities to access resources.

The power of a producer is embedded in social, political, cultural and commercial relationships. Reputation plays an important aspect of relationship-building, creating

access to relationships that may be required in achieving the event goals. Reputations can open access to resources, but can also obstruct the ability of the producer to successfully achieve their event goals. Reputation requires further clarification in order to place the term in the context of this discussion. Reputation is a type of power that can be enabling as well as obstructive. Reputation determines who gets respect, who works with whom, whose presence makes an event come alive, and whose cultural tradition is transmitted through the event. Event producers are not always looked on positively. Lack of community respect (locally and globally) can restrict access to critical resources. A poor reputation can be obstructive to building relationship networks. This definition of reputation takes the perspective of the performer and placement within performance networks and can be applied to the role of producers, performers and other stakeholders.

This premise follows the work of Gerstin (1998), who looks at musician production networks as embedded with the micro-politics of authority and hierarchy that arises from musicians working together. Gerstin notes that this premise can be applied equally to event organisers who have to work together and, at the same time, depend on one another while in competition. This dynamic involves an ongoing construction of authority, with reputation-building being a pervasive theme in most producers' lives.

For the commercial producer, the ability to create and maintain networks directly influences the building of their reputations. Gerstin notes the importance of reputation in professional relationships in the commercial musical production process. Reputations are embedded in the producer's ability to achieve their goals. Because of how power has been defined, reputation is a form of power by which producers are able to access resources. The findings in this research demonstrate how the reputation of commercial producers of Indian events is a form of power.

For example, the producer of the Rahat Fateh Ali Khan concert did not have an established reputation as a producer as it was his first event in Auckland. He used the reputations of the Sydney producer, the performers and the venue to sell out his concert at the Vodafone Events Centre. The sound issues at the concert were detrimental to his reputation as a producer, and he received bad reviews in the Indian press. At the 2013 Indian Republic Day festivities he was promoting a return concert for Rahat Fateh Ali Khan at the Logan Campbell Centre. He took to the stage to give a couple of tickets away and stated publicly that this venue had better sound, and that the event would be professionally delivered.

This public display at a large community event recognised that reputation consists of the informal evaluations by which competence is judged and related to within the context of social networks, and that reputation is an ever-present concern for most producers and the performers that they are presenting. Members of the Indian production community and their networks judge each other constantly based on perceptions of success, religious affiliations, cultural identity, history in the community, and alliances with one another within performance networks.

The following comparison explores the varying approaches by producers to event production practice, demonstrating some of the complexities of event production, relationship management and the reputations of producers and performers. By contrasting and comparing producers previously discussed in this research, the value of the producer’s and performer’s reputation can be further analysed.

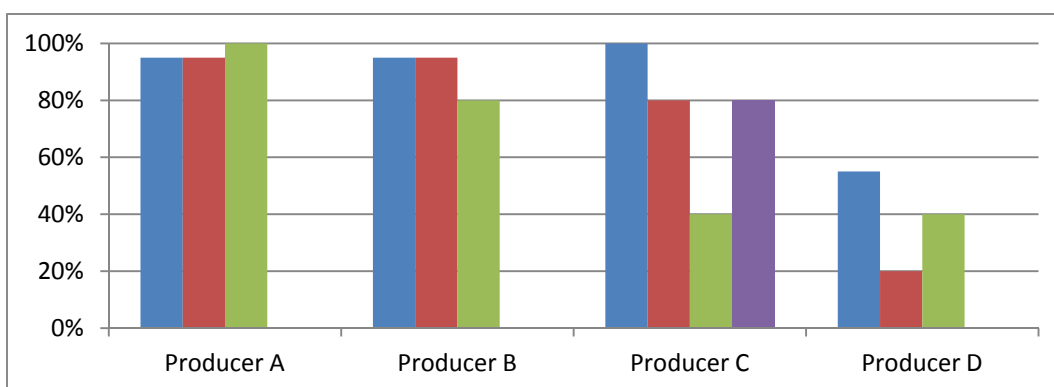


Figure 52. Audience as Percentage of Venue Capacity in the Events of Four Commercial Producers

Figure 52 identifies four producers who produced three or more events, held in venues with an audience capacity of 800 or above during the period of the snapshot. The four producers are compared and contrasted to identify a variety of ways commercial producers create relationships and sustainable networks to achieve their economic goals.

These producers have been chosen for comparison as they presented more commercial events than the other producers in the snapshot. These events represent 13 of the 24 large commercial events in the snapshot. There were some big financial winners as well as big financial losers. Some were new migrants, and others part of the established Indian event ‘old guard’. Three of the producers were male, and one a husband-and-wife team. Producer “C” presented four events during the snapshot, while the three other producers presented three events each.

Producer “A” is from Hyderabad and arrived in Auckland as an international student in 2003. He is one of the youngest of the active commercial producers. He was involved in three collaboratively produced commercial concerts: one post-liberalisation filmi, one DJ mix and one non-film pre-liberalisation. His business and marketing background provide him with beneficial event management skills. He finds forming teams easy due to his outgoing personality. He finds acts that will attract an audience, and has introduced successful concerts that had not been previously attempted in Auckland.

“B” is a long-time resident of Auckland who works in the local Indian media. He is an amateur vocal artist who produced concerts in which he could perform. He is originally from Pune. All events were vocal concerts; one was a very famous pre-liberalisation Bollywood playback artist, one was a local event in which he starred, and the third was a popular post-liberalisation Bollywood playback singer. He has been producing similar events for many years that attract full houses. His media role positions him as a promoter of other producers’ events, and he has developed strong production networks over the years in Auckland.

“C” arrived in Auckland in 2003 from Mumbai, and worked in many cities around the world as a consultant before settling in Auckland. He regularly produces large events, although he started by producing events for local community musicians. He is technically skilled and often can be found assisting “A” and “B” at their large shows. He produced four events, of which three showed a profit and one returned a financial loss. Among the successes was a play in Hindi from India that sold out. The failure was a vocal concert featuring two ghazal singers, which was poorly timed as the event was too early in the year. He is honest and open as to his success and failures. He sees theatre as new commercial venture, with greatest potential, and he proved its success by producing the first sold-out India theatre event in a large venue during this study.

Although I refer to them in the singular, Producer “D” are actually a husband-and-wife team, recently arrived in Auckland. They have emerged as event producers over the past four years, producing with four events: a youth-oriented show presenting Indian television stars, a classical instrumental concert, and two concerts (2011 and 2012) by the same Bollywood playback singer. Lacking production and marketing experience, “B” and “C” stepped into assist at the last minute. With the help of the ‘old guard’, “D” were able to raise ticket sales from 10 percent a week before the concert to a high enough (although undisclosed) percentage to enable them to make a small profit.

The following year “D” repeated their attempt with the same performer, this time in Wellington as well as Auckland. This time, however, “B” and “C” did not come to their aid as they had the previous year. “D” had failed to nurture the relationships that had been developed during their 2011 production, not suitably thanking “B” and “C” for their help and maintaining what “B” and “C” considered to be a “know-it-all attitude”, which they found frustrating. They produced a Wellington concert in 2012 that was reported to be reasonably successful. The audience for the Auckland concert, however, was less than 40 percent of the venue’s capacity. “A” estimates that “D” might have broken even with the revenue combined from the two concerts.

“D” presented the only commercially produced North Indian classical concert during the snapshot (although North Indian classical music was represented in festivals produced by community associations and government agencies). The concert showcased their friends, who were visiting from ‘home’. They chose the Auckland Town Hall’s Great Hall, with a seating capacity of over 1,700. The concert attracted an audience of roughly 150 people; it is not known what percentage was given complementary tickets.

Reputation is built through the media before and after an event. In this case, a local Indian newspaper praised the concert in a review, and some members of the audience responded quite positively to the performance; however, these did not make up for the negative impact the event had on the reputations of the performer or the producer. Commercial classical concerts by famous artists rarely attract audiences in numbers that are sufficient to meet event costs, let alone unknown artists.

The location of the event and the reputation of venues play an important role in successful events. Venue management is a resource that creates networks into the public arena. In this case, ticket sales were limited to THE EDGE management box office. This, as previously discussed, is not a popular venue or ticket distribution method for the majority of Indian ticket buyers. They are in direct competition with the Logan Campbell Centre, the Vodafone Events Centre and The Trusts Arena, as well as schools and community halls who allow ticket producers to sell and distribute their own concert tickets. Tickets for these venues are able to be sold through major ticket outlets linked to the venues as well as through local Indian-owned shops and individuals. This allows the producer to promote their events within the Indian community.

Producer “D”’s goal was to produce a concert for a friend in a prestigious venue at whatever cost. The event hurt reputations and a lot of money was lost. In such circumstances, a concert in a private home could have proven more lucrative and

advantageous to the reputations of all involved. The producers recently closed down their charitable trust status and have not produced an event in the past year.

These examples of the production practices of four different commercial producers demonstrate how the reputation of the producer and the producer's networks in the larger host community can significantly affect the ability to deliver a feasible event. Producer identity, social standing, past experience and the knowledge of the local market all play important roles in the producer's ability to deliver a successful event. Presenting artists with established global and local reputations inevitably has a distinct advantage.

Producers with experience and well-established reputations may be able to absorb less successful events without damaging their reputations or self-confidence, but newcomers must inevitably establish a suitable track record. Reputations require the building and maintaining a range of networks that potentially empower producers. These examples demonstrate a measuring of success factors that go beyond pure profit.

For commercial producers, power is based on networks and skills that grow their personal reputations. Producers' hierarchies in the local Indian production scene exist that are based on reputations built on sustainable networks. Competition exists in the small Auckland market with limited existing resources. Building reputation is a persistent factor in most producers' lives. Reputation is a form of power that assists in building networks that access resources and ultimately profit. Not all producers have this power.

When producers share stories about others in the producer community, they tend to do so in ways that help them reflect on their own production practice, access to resources and ability to affirm their placement within the community. Their stories are personal and reflect the role of local community politics that have impacted, negatively or positively, on their personal reputation.

Commercial producers hold unique positions in the community, as they invoke rules as to how the event will unfold, assisted by their ability or lack of ability to access resources, the event's construction, and the way the public are engaged. This, in turn is, affected by the reputation of the producer and the ability of the producer to access resources. Stakeholder perceptions of the producer from past experiences can help or hinder access to resources. New migrants without previous stakeholder relationships can find breaking into the competitive Auckland market very difficult. Power in event management is a process of growing reputation and sustainable networks on micro and macro levels, as individuals and within communities.

This research has shown various ways in which commercial producers depend on relationships to create sustainable networks and personal power. Without community support, commercial events are clearly not feasible and producers do not have access to the required power to achieve their goals. Ultimately, it is commercial producers' ability to meet their goals, build their reputations and create further opportunities to network that lie at the heart of their power.

Concluding Remarks: Power

The three producer types identified in this section approach power differently as their fundamental event goals are not the same. What remains the same for the success of all producers is the building and maintaining of networks and, ultimately, sustainability. This concept is affirmed by Pernecky and Lück (2013), who describe sustainability in event management as resulting from a variable combination of economic feasibility, improved reputations for producers and/or artists, ongoing relationships among producers and others in the event industry, and production skill competency.

This study has demonstrated event sustainability as a balance between private and public partnerships internal and external to the producer's cultural identity and orientation. The three types of producers discussed in this section approached event sustainability in different ways according to their goals. The partnerships created different types of networks; nonetheless, all sustainable networks created access to power by making it possible for the producer to achieve their goals.

Government agencies, such as universities, councils and ministry-funded departments, support cultural events to build audiences that will grow their reputations in the communities. The networks created are dominated by political relationships that are resource-rich and hold assets not available to others. Government agencies share the goal of growing their reputations within the minority communities, whether it is for votes, student recruitment, potential business partnerships or destination tourism.

The goal of cultural organisations is to provide sites for social cohesiveness and a sense of belonging. They do so through celebrations, festivals, concerts, rituals, and cultural schools. The networks created are dominated by cultural identity and social relationships. The act of cultural transmission provides a place where people can commune together as 'outsiders' and at the same time provides community stability and cultural sustainability.

The common goal of the commercial producers is profit, although the events they create do provide sites for their communities and friends to enjoy performances. The networks created are dominated by commercial and social relationships. The producer's ability to produce successful events builds reputation in the community. The reputation of the producer and the producer's ability to promote performers with strong reputations further build powerful networks. Powerful networks attract sponsors and collaborators that allow commercial producers to further enhance their reputations and potential profits. Power, in this way, is accumulated, and can be personal or collective.

The variety of ways producer networks are configured across the three producer types illustrates that although power can be accumulated, it is not equally distributed. Not all producers accomplish their event goals. Not all producers or types of producers have the same access to power. This is most obvious with the commercial producers, although the research has indicated that community organisations and government agencies are also vulnerable to unsustainable production networks.

The Auckland scene is filled with interpersonal competition and community politics. Ultimately it is the producer's ability to access resources to create sustainable event management practices that creates his/her power. The role of the government and its powerful ability to access resources can help or hinder producers from the Indian community. This is determined by relationships. An obvious comparison is the powerful relationship Radio Tarana has with the Auckland Council, resulting in a specific representation of Indian culture and promotion for the station on the main stage at Council cultural festivals. Humm FM has moved into an alternative niche through its newly established alliance with the Manukau Indian Association, forging new networks in competition with Radio Tarana and Auckland Council.

Sustainable networks are dependent on collaboration and sharing mutual beneficial resources. Such networks are sources of power. Power, in this way, can be shared by collaboration or obstructed by gate-keeping. Gate-keeping is practiced by all types of producers and can be manifested in government policies, political alliances, access to overseas musicians, perceptions of competitive advantage, and/or, on a personal level, based on personality and to some extent on fear.

The case studies demonstrated the power of social and cultural identity networks specifically for events produced by and marketed to members of the Indian communities. The government agencies depend more on political and commercial relationships. These relationships play a vital role in maintaining sustainable production networks. Sustainable

production networks build the reputations of the producer, the performers and the associated event.

A grandiose idea may not become a reality as the event may plainly not be feasible. In the end it comes down to production practices and delivering an event that will attract an intended audience. The success of events produced by and for the Indian community in Auckland is dependent on the ability to build and maintain relationships that access the essential production resources. When these relationships are aligned, the producer has the opportunity to deliver successful events as long as the relationships remain and the resources are available. This was demonstrated clearly by the team who produced the Unforgettable Music Festival. This is not easy to accomplish, and requires interpersonal as well as leadership and business skills.

When the production relationships are all working in sync, the producer has the opportunity to build personal reputation and also reputation for the event and the performers. Successful events are important not only for economic goals, as they have the potential to contribute to the building of sustainable communities.

Quantitative Analysis of the Twenty-three Producer Network Maps

Chapters 2–5 included 23 producer network maps created to visually represent the data collected. In addition to serving as the basis for production practice analysis and developing an understanding of how the producers in this study accessed resources, the data reported in these maps offers the possibility of quantitative analysis. By counting and analysing the relationship lines found in the producer network maps, the following information was obtained.

Thirty producers were identified in the 23 events analysed; in total, these 30 producers used 232 different relationships to access the resources they needed to achieve their event goals. As shown in Table 8 below, relationships based on cultural identity were the most common. Relationships based on commercial, social and political ties were also quite frequent; in contrast, those based on family ties were rarely used by producers to access resources. The importance of relationships based on cultural identity is to be expected in a study of Indian events as 90 percent of the producers were of Indian cultural identity; however, this result may also be an indication the nature of diasporic communities and a clear sense of pan-Indian solidarity.

Table 8. Relationship Basis and Target Resources in the 23 Event Project Maps

Relationship Basis	Percentage	Target Resources	Percentage
Cultural Identity	30%	Event Support	38%
Commercial	22%	Event Content	23%
Social	21%	Publicity	15%
Family	5.5%	Funding	24%
Political	21.5%		

Of these relationships, cultural identity relationships were the most common (71) and family relationships (5) were the least common, with commercial relationships (53), social relationships (51) and political relationships (52) being about equal. Across the five relationship categories, 56 of the relationships were used to access funding resources, 35 to access publicity resources, 56 to access event content resources and 93 to access event support resources. Relationships are used by event producers to make their events both feasible and sustainable. Because producers access resources by means of relationships, it is important to consider which kinds of relationships were most routinely used to access the resources they required.

Table 8 shows that greatest percentage of the 232 combined concert and festival relationships were used to access event support resources; funding and event content resources were accessed by somewhat fewer relationships. Publicity was the target of the fewest relationships. Publicity was approached by the different producers in different ways. Throughout much of the period of this study, publicity for Indian events by Indian producers relied on their own direct promotional efforts through the Indian media, ticket outlets, websites and word of mouth. The government producers have their own internal marketing resources. This helps us to understand why publicity did not rely on relationships in the same way as other event resources.

Event support, as defined throughout this study, involves resources outside of direct community control; this is especially the case with venues. Event support has therefore been something for which producers have relied on commercial and other kinds of non-cultural-identity-based relationships. This suggests the importance of understanding the interactions that may occur among these three basic variables: producer identity, relationship types and target resources.

Table 9. Distinctions between the Producers of Concerts and Festivals

Event Type	Total	Concerts	Festivals
Number of Events (Producer Network Maps)	23	11	12
Cultural Organisation Producers	7	18%	46%
Government Agency Producers	8	18%	54%
Commercial Producers	8	64%	0%
Cultural Identity Producer Indian	15	82%	50%
Cultural Identity Producer "Other"	7	9%	40%
Indian and "Other" Producer Partnerships	1	9%	10%
Producer Access to Event Content	54	19%	26%
Producer Access to Event Support	93	46%	33%
Producer Access to Publicity	35	13%	16%
Producer Access to Funding	55	22%	25%

Further insight into the dynamics of different kinds of relationship networks in the context of different kinds of events is offered by Table 9. The events have been divided into two categories: concerts and festivals. Of the 23 events, 12 were festivals and 11 were concerts. The distinctive nature of these two categories is evident in that six of the seven events that involved more than one producer were festivals. Generally, these six co-productions involved partnerships between government agency producers and other government departments and agencies. These combinations thus formed networks with either a different government agency or cultural organisations and, in one instance, between a cultural organisation and a commercial producer. The one concert that was co-produced was part of a national concert and workshop tour.

The findings have been averaged across the events to achieve an overview of where the results are pointing. The 23 events were produced by 7 cultural organisation producers, 8 government agencies and 8 commercial producers. Cultural organisations and government agencies produced significantly more festivals than concerts. Commercial producers focussed entirely on concerts. Of the 23 events, the majority (65 percent) were produced by members of Auckland's Indian communities. Of the remaining 35 percent only the concerts did not engage and involve the Indian communities. The engagement of the Indian communities is vital for the event sustainability of festivals.

The 232 relationships have been divided into the four resources types and further divided into concerts and festivals categories. It is quite clear that the two event types

require different numbers of relationships to access resource requirements. Overall, the producers of festivals require more political and cultural identity relationships, while concert producers require more commercial and social relationships. Event support is required by both types of events, although concerts require a larger proportion of cultural identity relationships while festivals require a larger proportion of political relationships for event content. The other two categories remain about the same. The producer types require different relationship networks, as they require different resources to achieve their different event goals.

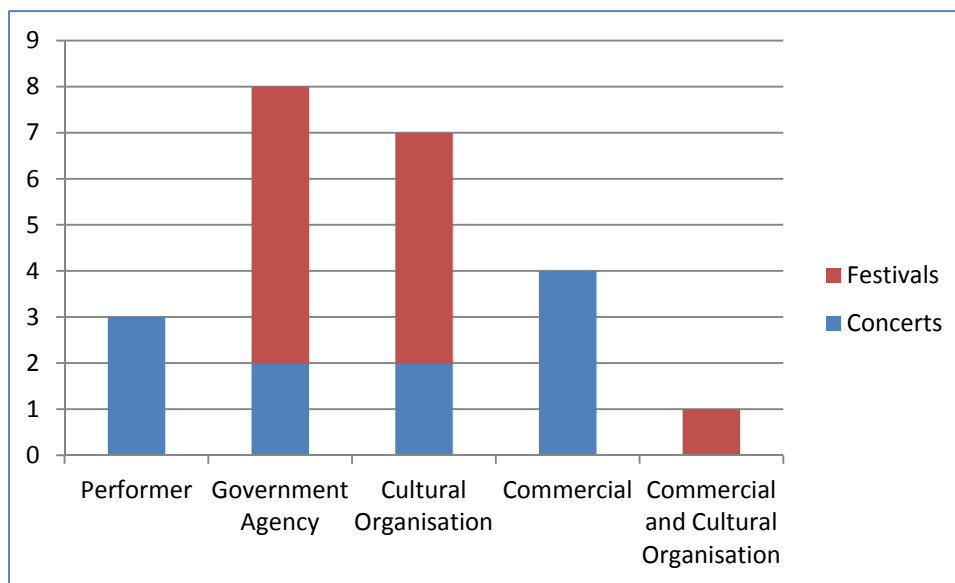


Figure 53. The Interaction between Producer Types, Concerts and Festivals

It is clear that festivals and concerts have been distinguishable by the producer types involved and the different motivations and goals reflected by the five producer types identified in Figure 53. Cultural organisations and government agencies are the most common event producer types, representing 16 of the 23 events analysed. Of the 16 events, 12 were festivals. With one exception, all the 12 festivals were produced by government agencies or cultural organisations. In contrast, 7 of the 11 concerts were commercial ventures produced by entrepreneurs or performer-producers from the local community.

When examining the period 1995–2012 during which these 23 events occurred, the patterns of the different event types and producer types seem to be consistent. There are, however, clear differences between the producers of concerts and festivals across the entire period. What is different in these two event categories are the relationships and strategies

by which the producers accessed different types of resources. The producers of commercial concerts have relied on sponsorship, in the form of cash and/or in kind, to underwrite their budgets and mitigate personal risks. The heavy dependence of all producer types on funding reinforces an understanding of Indian event production as being inherently not feasible strictly in terms of income from ticket sales. Some concerts also rely on the ability to sell recordings as a means to boost direct revenue for the performers.

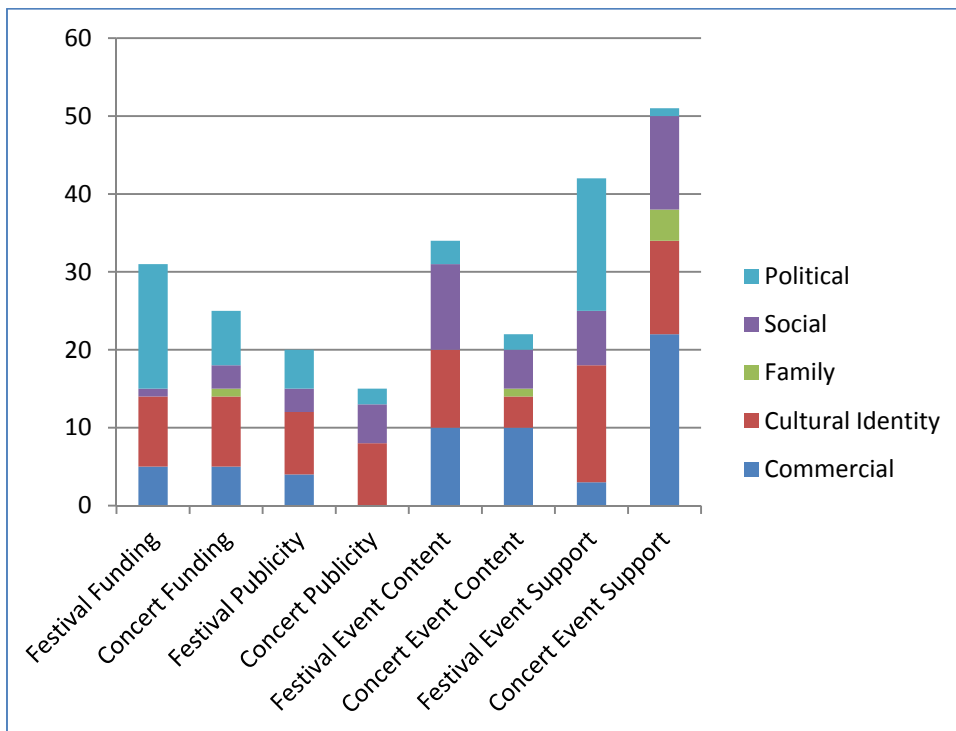


Figure 54. Access to Resource Types by Relationship Type

Figure 54 shows the proportion of resources accessed by producers using different types of relationships across festivals and concerts. As in other results discussed here, both event types rely heavily on event support. It is clear that the two event types rely on different resources. The producers of festivals rely on political, social and cultural identity, relationships and the producers of concerts rely on commercial, social and cultural identity relationships. Of the twelve festivals, six were produced by government agencies, and six were produced by cultural associations— one of which was co-produced by a cultural association and a commercial radio station. In contrast, of the eleven concert produced; four producers were commercial, three were performers, two were government agencies and two were cultural associations. The five family relationships were used by performer/producers for concert performances to access specific skills that family members

could provide that would support the event as additional performers or with administrative support such as ticketing and creating promotional materials.

All eight of the events produced by government agencies accessed funding and resources through political relationships with other government agencies. Those events requiring overseas performers, such as large festivals benefited from access to event content as a result of the cultural diplomacy available through international government agencies. Festivals produced by government agencies are able to access commercial support through existing relationships sitting within their government portfolios. They access revenue from taxes in which the level of funds they receive is determined through government policy.

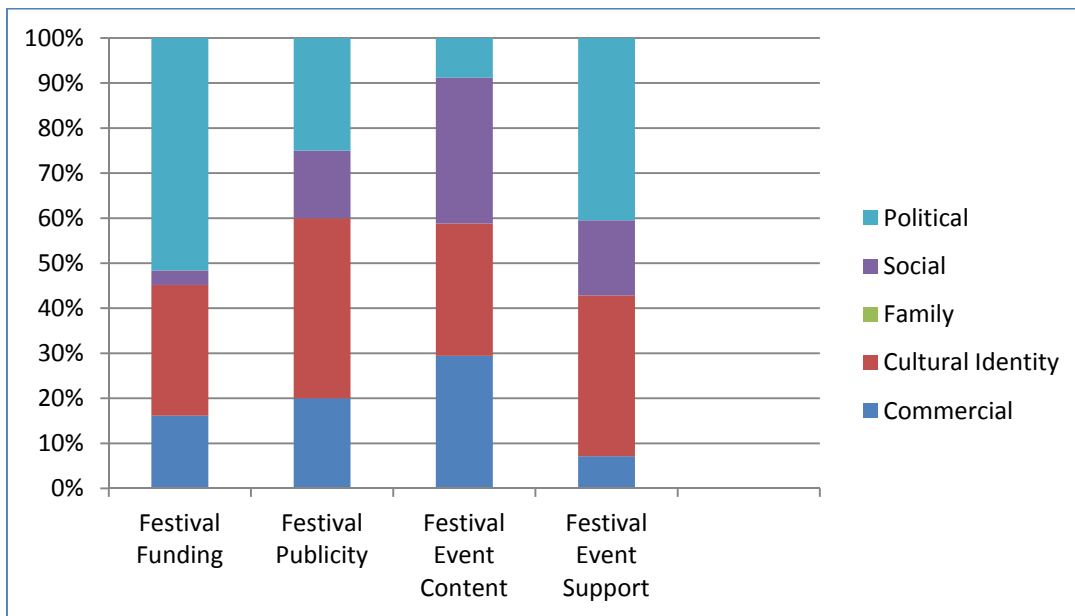


Figure 55. Access to Resources as a Function of Relationship Type in Festivals

Figure 55 compares the kinds of relationships accessed by festival producers in order to draw together the required event resources. For festivals, political relationships are important, specifically when accessing funding and event support. The findings indicate that 50 percent of relationships used to access funding for festivals were political relationships; these were also responsible for 40 percent of relationships used to access event support. This is not surprising, as many of the festivals require access to other government-agency resources, such as funding, venues and event staff. The internal nature of festivals produced by community organisations, create networks in which to share

resources. The producers usually take advantage of shared resources with similar organisations, including access international performers and the related expenses. Local membership subscriptions and the sponsorship support of the associated members of the host community mitigate financial risks.

Community organisations rely on the engagement of their membership and the local community members with cultural affiliations for sponsorship, publicity, performers and volunteers. Social and cultural identity relationships are used for support, and frequently are responsible for making such events feasible. Cultural identity plays a significant role in festival producers accessing publicity, with 40 percent of the relationships dependent on the involvement of the targeted cultural community.

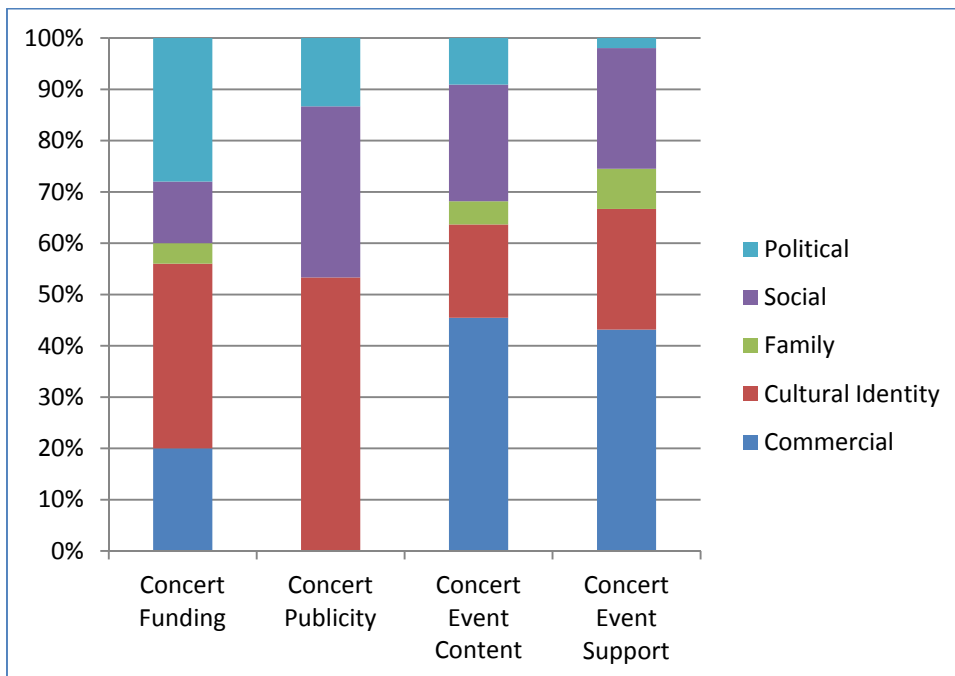


Figure 56. Access to as a Function of Relationship Type in Concert Events

Concerts form the other major category of event in this study. Unlike festivals, concerts usually focus on a single artist or at least a one-off performance in each locality visited by performers on tour. They are more likely to be driven by commercial goals and to have producers who have assumed the financial risks of the event as individuals or as part of an event company.

Figure 56 compares relationships used to access resources for concert events. Producers' access to funding is largely dependent upon cultural identity and, to a lesser extent, political relationships based on common goals. Only 5 out of the 11 concert

producer network maps included political relationships accessing resources. Of those, in 1998, one producer accessed Creative New Zealand funds, through political relationships, that no longer are available for cultural performances. The second producer used political relationships with local government agencies to place Indian performers funded through ICCR in arts festivals produced by ‘others’. The third producer presented two concerts negotiating media through his own position in the local media. The fourth producer presented a high-profile event to break into the market which attracted local business sponsors who sought to align themselves with the reputations of the performers and the Australian agent.

These quantitative findings demonstrate a variety of roles relationships play in the production of concerts and festivals and the networks they constitute. The case study sample is small, but illustrates the potential for further use of this method as a research tool.

Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the four overarching themes of identity, community, feasibility, and power. The chapter started by going over the methods behind the process of identifying the emerging overarching themes from the four previous case-study chapters. The discussion began with a look at identity in light of the fact that the culturally diverse, rapidly growing Indian community is the third-largest ethnic minority in New Zealand’s ethnic melting pot. The growing size and changing demographics of Auckland’s Indian communities has created multiple ways in which Indian identity is represented through events in Auckland.

Identity cannot be viewed as totally separate from community. Community identity is based on nationalism, regionalism, culture, religion, and political affiliations. Age, gender and genre preferences also play an important role. These differing identity factors are attracted to different types of events with a variety of types of producers. Identity is about “Who am I?” and community is about “Where do I fit in?” in society. These questions are particularly pertinent to new migrants finding their way in a new homeland, reflecting the awareness that “just as human beings make their own history, they also make their own cultures and ethnic identities” (Said, 1993, p. 336).

This discussion and analysis reveals the importance of cultural events for the Indian communities as spaces to reaffirm identity as a cultural minority. The multiple Indian cultural communities, formed by diverse historical and cultural histories, create events that

remain internal to the social structures of specific diasporic cultural orientations. It is in this diversity of cultural identity, and positioning within a new homeland with remaining linkages to their past localities, that the events in this study are sited. The event experiences in this study play a significant role in creating a variety of types of place to reinforce the evolving sense of community, identity, citizenship and nation (Safran et al., 2008).

Bollywood and film culture in general plays an important role in the unification of Indian communities, and it is the most visible performance genre recognised by members of the hegemonic culture in Auckland. Film culture has permeated notions of classical culture, as demonstrated through dance as well as performances of qawwali. Indian films have had an influence on classical and folk arts, and have transformed notions of classical and authentic. Indian cultural identity manifests in a multitude of ways, and at the same time is united under one banner that is 'Indian', reflecting the transnational and transcultural nature of the Indian diaspora and the understanding of a common notion of 'Indianness'.

The cultural organisations serve to transmit how culture is taught and cultural identity presented inside the cultural community, as well as to other cultural organisations and the wider community at large. South Indian culture maintains the strongest bonds to a pure classical performance identity that is wrapped in notions of traditional Hindu values. The classical dance tradition has been infiltrated by modern influences in Chennai as well as through the Indian diaspora. The Indian community is split as to their attitudes to traditional values and the more modern manifestations of Indianess. This creates a cultural 'purity vs hybridity' dichotomy in the cultural transmission process. The split is reflected in the diversity of dance performance at events identified during the course of this study. At large public festivals, the way Indian culture is displayed is a hotly debated topic. Some community associations choose to present pure classical genres (e.g. the NZCMS or MigHT-i), while others present a mixture of styles (e.g. Bhartiya Samaj) or pure Bollywood (e.g. NZISA).

The virtual world plays an important role in presenting cultural images to individuals as well as communities. The use of YouTube and Facebook for the marketing of events, sharing concert performances, teaching, and creating online communities of like-minded souls, create local and global networks that unite cultural practices. These virtual communities often stand outside of world market forces and larger political agendas or can represent conservative worldviews. What can be said is that the virtual world plays an

important role in reinforcing what it means to be 'Indian', and has the ability to create an immediate global world community in which to market events, share events and teach culture.³⁵

Successful events depend on the meeting of specific goals. Reputation assists in the ability for a producer to access resources to create sustainable events. Success for the producer is often determined by the level of engagement within the community targeted by the producer for networking purposes. It is often the small things that matter, as it is the accumulation of a lot of details that make the difference in a producer's ability to create feasible events and sustainable networks. The feasibility of an event relies on the producer's ability to answer the question "Can I meet my goals?" by making astute decisions and having the requisite interpersonal skills and ability to access resources. The producer's level of understanding to be able to answer the question "How do I achieve my goals?" involves building networks based on reputation that create access to resources. Power is obtained by successfully accomplishing goals that strengthen and sustain networks. These interpersonal relationships and networks are required to access resources. The ability for a producer to see a 'hole' in the market may create new opportunities, but without the relationships allowing access to resources, the event may not be feasible.

The producers of the Imran Khan Unforgettable Music Festival saw a 'hole' in the market. They created an event that would create an appealing experience for the growing population relating to the international world of 'global India'. The producers shared a cultural commonality as 'desi' with their target market and performers. They had previous production experience as a team. The complexity of this event relied on the ability to contract overseas and local performers and attract larger audiences than past events. They were able to succeed due to their ability to form networks and pull power from their past relationships and reputations.

The case studies have demonstrated that events do not simply exist; they are embedded in collective social relationships and networks that involve stakeholders in local and global localities. The Bollywood star Asha Bhosle filled a large arena, with an audience representing diverse ages and Indian community affiliations. The success of the event relied on the performer's reputation combined with the producer's personal reputation, media savvy and local community history. This producer had the ability to It is

³⁵ For example, during the period of this study a Facebook web site emerged called Indian Music Lovers in New Zealand that is primarily used to promote local classical music events, sell instruments and post favourite YouTube clips. The site had an open membership of 225 in September 2013. Discussions are generally Auckland-based, although performers from India sometimes post on the site.

the producer's ability to pull networks together, creating power inextricably linked with reputation.

This authority affects the representation in stakeholder decision-making processes that affects access to resources linked to the producer's reputation and sustainable event management practices. It is the balance of private and public partnerships, internal and external to the local community, as well as, the producer's cultural identity and community orientation that are important factors in the creation and the maintaining of sustainable networks. The ability of production networks to endure and evolve is a key factor in the formal and informal processes, systems, structures and relationships that create power for the event producers and their community networks.

Relationships act as a binding agent between identity, community, feasibility and power. Relationships are central to all types of producers. This research demonstrates how the different types of relationships that hold power affect the goals and production practices and, ultimately, how cultures get represented. Identity, community, feasibility and power are the basis of all production relationships that have emerged in this study.

Conclusion

This research has demonstrated the variety of processes through which producers construct, utilise, rearrange and maintain production networks in their attempts to produce successful events. The local and global network formations central to the production networks, shape cultural performance content and, the consequent images of India that are received/consumed by the local Indian community, as well as, the wider New Zealand audience. The concerts and festivals discussed and analysed demonstrate the wide variety of cultural events produced representing Indian culture in Auckland. Taken as a whole, this research has demonstrated the centrality of relationship networks to the relative success or failure of the events studied. Identity, community, feasibility and power have emerged as explanatory and analytical themes that help understand how these networks have functioned in the production of events.

From the perspective of event production needs, the flexibility and event-specific nature of those networks has been made clear. The case studies offered a wide range of events over a fifteen year period that identified a number of local and international socio-economic and cultural relationships generated by different kinds of shared interests and identities. At the same time, it is apparent that there are a range of culturally driven factors that affect event production practices as well as network formation, utilisation and maintenance. The findings have determined not only the nature of the events, but also their relevance to various stakeholders, including the audience, sponsors and the wider community. The role the producer plays within the wider community affects production practices, purpose and event goals. Four producer types were identified, and summations can be made on their differing sense of purpose and management styles.

The events produced by community organisations demonstrated the important role events play in cultural transmission and community cohesion. As there has been a significant increase in migrants of Indian cultural heritage arriving in Auckland over the past 15 years, the variety of community events is increasing, reflecting the diversity of the communities. The Indian community includes cultural identities from a vast array of regions, religious practices and linguistic divisions, which is also reflected in the range of events produced. The events offer opportunities to feel at 'home', and they create a sense of belonging through the sharing of broader cultural identity. The community organisation producers are motivated by the desire to affirm specific cultural practices that preserve the

culture of their 'original' homelands within the Auckland Indian communities. It is the support from within the organisations and associated communities that creates successful events.

Government agencies approach production practices in a very different ways, as they rely on government policies, political relationships and top-down management structures. Government policies that create the funds that give the economic support for government agencies to produce festivals, may be linked to long-term economic and political strategic goals. These underlying goals give support to festivals in specific locations for strategic reasons connected to destination tourism, regional development and cultural recognition. In Auckland, government agencies produce a range of events, including festivals and concerts. Events that represent minority cultures tend to be produced within festival management frameworks. As the government responds to shifting cultural policies, the management of cultural festivals has shifted away from community involvement. In the case of the Indian community, in response there has been a growth of community events and festivals, and less involvement in the events managed by government agencies.

The case studies provided several examples of this occurrence, starting with the 1997 Festival of Asia and continuing through the 2012 Diwali: Festival of Lights and, on a smaller scale, the WIA Rang Barse Holi Mela. The Bhartiya Samaj and Humm FM: Holi Festival of Colours was an exception to the usual pattern of producer identity and funding (and other factors) found in festivals. The collaboration that resulted in this festival activated a strategic marketing campaign developed by an emerging Hindi-language radio station with an established organisation with an established reputation within the Indian community as well as with local government. The festival was produced without Council support, but nevertheless did receive the usual support of the politicians who routinely participate in or at least support, these events to raise their community profiles and express political rhetoric aimed at attracting the votes of the growing Indian communities.

The many recent successful commercial events are the result of hard work by older experienced producers and emerging young producers who are highly educated and have created production networks. They have developed skills useful in the event industry, including DJing, marketing, IT experts and developing strong local and global networks accessed through the virtual world. This has perceptibly changed Indian performance content and production practices in the Indian cultural performance scene in Auckland. This change is perceptible in the types of advertised concert and festivals presented and the

way the formation of production teams are negotiated, and the role the media and virtual world play in attracting and engaging target markets.

Their contribution to the Indian event community has demonstrated opportunities to showcase cultural diversity as well as alternative voices to the wider public. They are part of production networks inside and outside of their specific cultural and linguistic identities. They have demonstrated an ability to create commercially successful events involving overseas artists, showcasing new performers to an eager Auckland audience. The success factors of their events reflect the changing nature of twenty-first century Indian diasporic communities and a new youth voice emerging in Auckland's growing Indian communities.

Their emerging voices challenge the established cultural performance environment and the conventional notions of 'Indian' cultural identity in Auckland. The transcultural, transnational and diasporic nature of the performance environment they practice creates an alternative understanding of culture, reflected in their event content as well as production practices. For these producers and performers, hip hop and rock are as much a part of Indian identity as sitar or bharatanatyam. They grew up in an India that was post-liberalisation, when global popular culture entered India via radio, cassettes and satellite TV and since 1996, via India MTV, a channel specialising in music, reality, and youth culture programming.

The case study findings indicate that there has been a growth in cultural festivals produced by community organisations, a growth in commercial concerts and a decline in government agencies producing events that represent Indian culture. It is the building and maintaining of networks that contributes to the success of an event and the producer's reputation within the community. The role cultural events play is a powerful factor in the visibility of cultural communities and social cohesion. Events are meaningful experiences for the producer, performers, audience and communities alike, with culturally diverse perspectives coming into play, building communities and creating culturally safe spaces in a world of 'others'.

The longevity of festivals is dependent on the festival being able to change and adapt to various factors, including sustainable networks, government policies, and community engagement (Clarke & Jepson, 2011). Changes in production networks can affect the feasibility of events. Local government control of venues, in-house marketing budgets and salaried event staff are strategic advantages that suit the government management of festivals, although the continuity of festivals in this model is based on benchmarks that may or may not be feasible. Top-down management structure and

decision-making processes have a substantial impact on the way in which festivals are delivered to the community, the ways in which Indian culture is represented and how the Indian communities are engaged with the event.

This management style is in direct contrast to the cultural autonomy of the producers who represent community organisations or the commercial producers. In these scenarios, events and management structures emerge from within the culture. Cultural organisations may have access to funding through government grants, but they rely on community businesses, membership fees and volunteers. The cultural associations and cultural societies that have charitable trust status have access to government funding that is not available to the commercial producers or cultural school producers. The commercial producers may have access to sponsors and patrons from within their networks built over time through their own reputations. The networks may be local, although they are more likely to be global.

The majority of concert tickets in this study were sold through local Indian ticket outlets and through friends via word of mouth, Facebook or at the door. Producers have a contract with performers, making a commercial relationship, although the performers are often contacted and negotiated through personal relationships. Some commercial producers who promote the 'superstars' travel to India personally to meet the performers and their agents. Some promoters have already established reputations within the overseas musician networks. Having the same cultural affiliations and social or family networks make the production networks more powerful. Event support was also based on commercial relationships connected with the venue management accessing venues and support staff, including front-of-house, technical support, ticketing, etc.

Some overseas musicians performed as a result of social or cultural relationships; but these relationship types were far more commonly used to access local performers. Most local performers were volunteers supporting the producer through social relationships or cultural identity. Some musicians performed through political relationships, often with government agencies or a cultural organisation that the performer was not affiliated to. Concert event support relied on commercial relations mainly for technical support, venue management and marketing, with social relationships coming into play accessing volunteers (friends and family) to assist in promoting the event as well as front and back of house support on the day of the event.

Not all relationships in the producer maps were direct, as indicated in the previous case studies. This research has shown that indirect relationships can contribute valuable

resources, but can be vulnerable to other forces that are relationship-dependent and that are outside the direct control of the producer. Indirect relationships can play a key role in some production networks as they can bring in powerful resources not directly available to the producer, whether it is funding, shared musical traditions, access to performers or other critical resources. A clear example of such access to critical resources is when the producers are dependent on other government agencies such as ICCR, for overseas performers, funding through the Ministry of Economic development in Wellington, or the support of the Indian High Commission for visas and other diplomatic support. Without direct access, indirect relationships can be hard for the producers to control, and the producer must work consistently to maintain them if the producer networks are to remain sustainable. This is especially true of festivals as they are free admission with few means to generate revenue beyond sponsorship and stallholder rental fees. Festival funding relies on indirect relationships based on politics and cultural identity. In contrast, concert funding relies primarily on direct commercial relationships, followed by political indirect relationships.

For most events, complex production networks are required to access event sponsorship and government grants to cover overseas airfares and performance fees as well as marketing and promotion budgets. For example, the producer of *The Manganiyar Seduction* had previously accessed UK government funding for research and development, allowing for the creation of the performance. The performance was in Auckland on a global tour that placed the event in arts festivals. The producer as well as the Auckland Arts Festival 2011 benefited from the inclusion *The Manganiyar Seduction* in the Festival programme. The Festival received funding as well as event support from Asia: NZ and the Auckland Council. If the producer of *The Manganiyar Seduction* had independently produced this event outside of festival resources, the event would have not been feasible. The producer was advantaged by the local Festival relationship networks that provided publicity in the local media, ticketing and a target audience outside of the Indian community. The benefits were mutual. The Festival reaped profits from three nights of full houses as well as receiving positive reviews in the mainstream media.

This example demonstrates how the complex nature of relationships adds value to events that previously benefited from funding resources. This may be the critical success factor for producers to create new cultural performance opportunities, especially in events that require resources in a global context. Production models of this kind require producers to be able to engage in relationship networks across local, national and international

government agencies. At the same time, many such relationships are dependent on political relationships that are subject to changes in government policies. In this instance, the producer had the power of reputation as an experienced theatre director, the precedent of previous government-funded arts festivals and the power to build a powerful brand for his event. It can be speculated that, without access to these indirect resources this event would never have been economically viable. Without arts funding for research and development of the theatrical production in the first place, it is unlikely the show would have had the opportunity to tour the globe as an economically sustainable commodity.

The producers of Indian cultural events in this study created a variety of event experiences, from religious celebrations and classical music and dance concerts to Bollywood shows, club rave parties and theatre. These events contributed to the quality of life of Auckland's diverse cultural communities in a range of ways. While most events were enjoyed almost solely by members of specific cultural communities within the larger Indian community, others, such as the large public festivals, offered all New Zealanders an opportunity to share in public celebrations of Indian culture. The ongoing sustainability of these events requires complex negotiations between local and international relationships and reputations built on production networks.

Some newly arrived migrants are often not aware of the production management differences between commercial and government producers, placing themselves in financially precarious positions as new arrivals into the world of producing events. A third of the commercially produced concerts identified in the snapshot did not break even. Auckland can prove quite tricky due to the small market for events and the cost of hiring venues. Newly arrived from India or other cities that have large Indian populations, it is hard to comprehend the limitations of a city the size of Auckland. Of those who did not break even the majority were new into the Auckland Indian event production scene. The difficulty of breaking into the event scene is compounded by having to compete with producers who have already developed relationship networks. The more successful producers have developed powerful production networks. The networks have taken time, energy and skill to develop and, through the network development process reputations have been built.

Producing successful events requires certain common features, as explained by one of the most experienced Indian commercial producers interviewed: "It is the time, location and the quality of the act that is the key to the success to any event. Only book the top overseas artists and make sure you have the best location and that you are not competing

with other events” (RI, personal communication, 21 March 2012). These wise words were shared by one of the most successful event producers. Not only is he involved in events in which he is the sole producer, he also serves as an advisor and event manager on many of the more successful commercial and community-organisation-produced events. He has solely produced as well as technically managed some of the best-reviewed and most economically successful events featuring overseas artists during the period studied.

This producer is a success story due to a number of factors. The popularity of the performers, the choice of venue and the timing of the event are important for success, but additionally, emerging producers are competing with his reputation and ability to quickly build powerful production networks. He contributes to the profitability as well as the variety of commercially produced events in Auckland. His reputation allows regular opportunities to be involved in commercial and community events in producer, advisor and event coordinator roles. He has built relationships with other producers, performers, community groups, venues, sponsors, the visa office and other government departments. He assists commercial producers as well as community organisations, helping producers who often have weaker network relationships within the broader society in which they are located. As the events produced require resources from within the cultural community being represented, members of the organisation are directly involved in managing the event production process. Most producer relationships between government agencies and cultural organisations are limited to Council producers engaging the community in large festivals as performers, stallholders and sponsors, with cultural organisations limiting their relationships with local government to hiring community and school halls for their events. In some cases, the local government provides event funds for cultural societies in recognition of the importance of publicly recognising Auckland’s cultural communities.

Event success is based on relationship networks and a producer’s ability to access the critical resources required, making or breaking the success of events. There is not just one way to produce an event, no fixed set of rules and no absolutes. Differences in skill sets, personalities, gender, past history, cultural identity and relationships create different approaches to production practices. As such, this research examined various ways that producers of Indian cultural events have created production networks with varying degrees of success. A selection of the events were analysed and discussed by the use of producer network maps. By comparing data within the producer network maps conclusions have been drawn around sustainable production practices.

The local government relationship with the Indian community has changed over the period of this study. Some of the changes have played out in the emergence of new festivals not depending on Council involvement and outside of the Diwali: Festival of Lights control. The dominant New Zealand-European cultural focus of Auckland determines the arts programming, funding and resources for the festivals and concerts that they produce. This gives the government agency producers a powerful role in what gets produced and how cultural identity is presented to the wider community. Although the Council producers are in a position of power, over the period of this study the centre of power has shifted, with producers from the Indian community growing the market for concerts and festivals that are aimed at Indian audiences. These events have demonstrated support from the growing Indian community.

The increase in commercial events and community festivals not dependent on government involvement has resulted in an emerging event sector that is managed and produced for the Indian community. Some relationship networks between community organisations, government agencies and individuals were established during the mid-1990s and continue to remain in place in 2013. Some of relationship networks established in the mid-2000s by commercial producers continue to be activated when required. It is the continuous formal and informal processes, systems, structures, and relationships that create successful production networks. Successful production networks are powerful, as they create platforms on which to build meaningful cultural experiences and well as serving as a foundation for building and maintaining socially sustainable communities.

The findings in this research have demonstrated in multiple ways the manner in which event producers construct, use, rearrange and maintain production networks. The event process is powerful, as it has the capacity to affect the reputations of performers, producers and communities. The ability of production networks to endure and evolve is a key to the longevity of the Indian cultural event industry in Auckland. As the size and cultural diversity of the population has grown, so has the ability to grow commercial capabilities as well as events representing the cultural diversity of the population. This study has demonstrated how the concept of 'Indianness' has become more complex in event production practices in the globalised world of the twenty-first century.

Further research is expected from the findings in this thesis. Topics include the shift in festival practices and the impact of festivalisation and the influence of 'global India' on local cultural representation and production practices. These are areas of specific interest for further study, and there is more scope for in-depth interviews that specifically target

these very different areas of production practices. The producer map method developed in this thesis has proven to be a useful method for visually analysing events and bringing together qualitative and quantitative information. Additional development of this method, as a tool, is expected to be applied to future research in an event management context, as well as in collaboration with those who contribute to popular music production industry research.

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